the struggle goes on

"But such is the irresistible nature of truth, that all it asks, and it wants, is the liberty of appearing." THOMAS PAINE

The Struggle Goes on...

First edition, August 1969
Second edition, November 1969

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

by Aida Karaoglan

Designed by Zahi N. Khuri

Beirut, 1969

PALESTINE RESEARCH CENTER
P. L. O.

FOREWORD

The object of this book is to tell the story of the "disrupted nationality" of the Palestinians. It is conceived as a mirror of, on the one hand, the simple truth of the Palestinians' likeness to all other peoples and, on the other hand, the uniqueness of their circumstances.

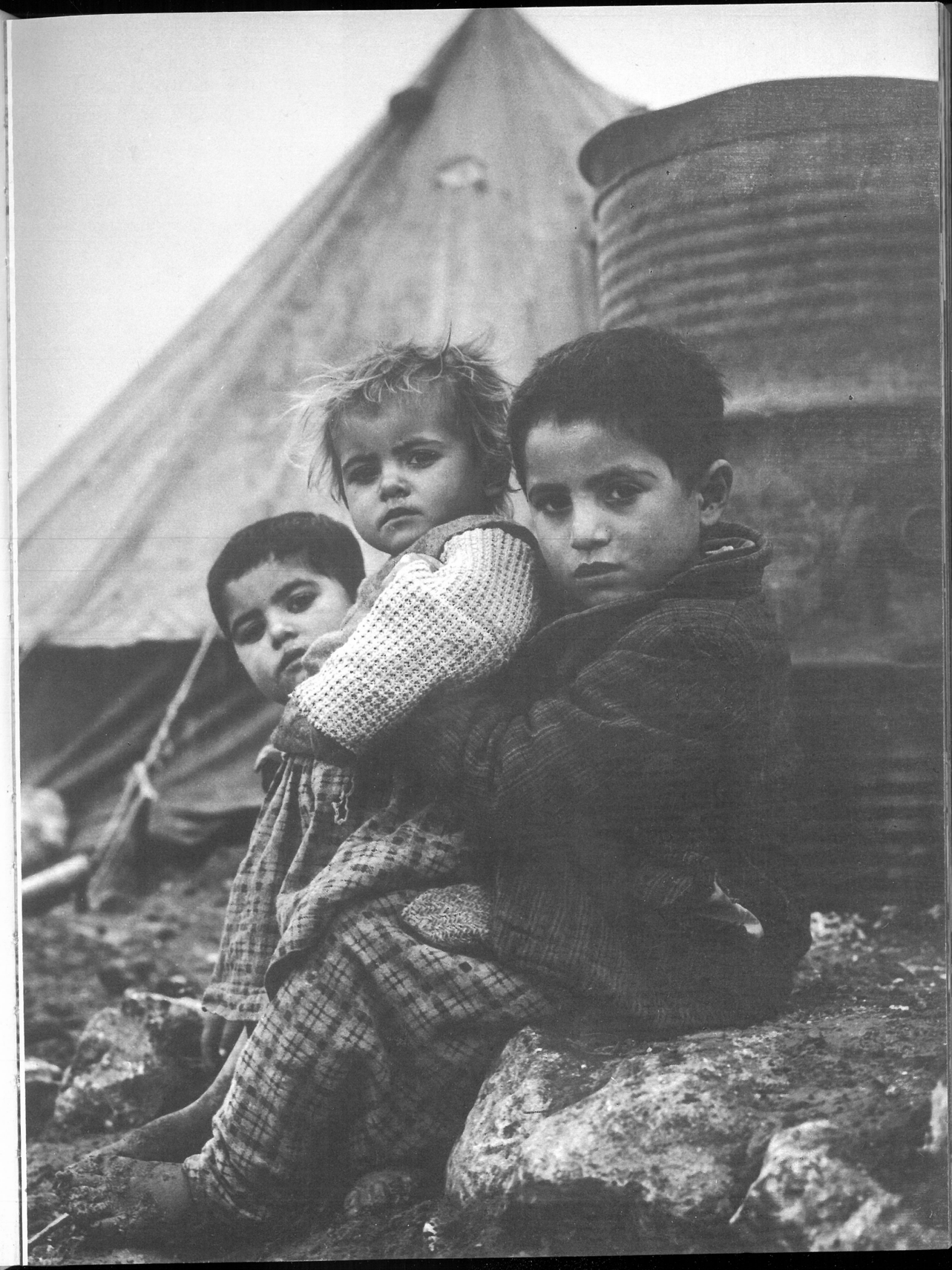
For the last twenty-one years, the Palestinians have been regarded as ragged refugees dependent on the charity of the world community, unwilling and unable to improve their own condition. While it is true that many of the Palestinians are presently wards of the United Nations, the majority have fanned out into the Arab world and overseas and are leading useful if in some cases difficult lives. A high percentage of them has entered the professions. Schools and universities are well-equipped with Palestinian teachers and professors ; hospitals and clinics are stocked with Palestinian doctors and technicians ; Palestinian engineers and architects are laying down roads and constructing bridges. More than ever, their dispersion has driven them in search of higher education.

The war of June 1967, and the subsequent Israeli occupation of the rest of Palestine, transformed the Palestinians' individual struggle for survival into a collective struggle for the preservation of a national identity. It is the new Palestinians, with their feelings of self-awareness and self-reliance, that emerge from the twenty-one years of suppression and banishment.

The art of photography has been used to tell the Palestine story. The text is provided as a supplement to the photographs. The plan of development is basically the Palestinians of today, their memory-filled past and their impenetrable future.

"I am certain that the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do to the Arabs."

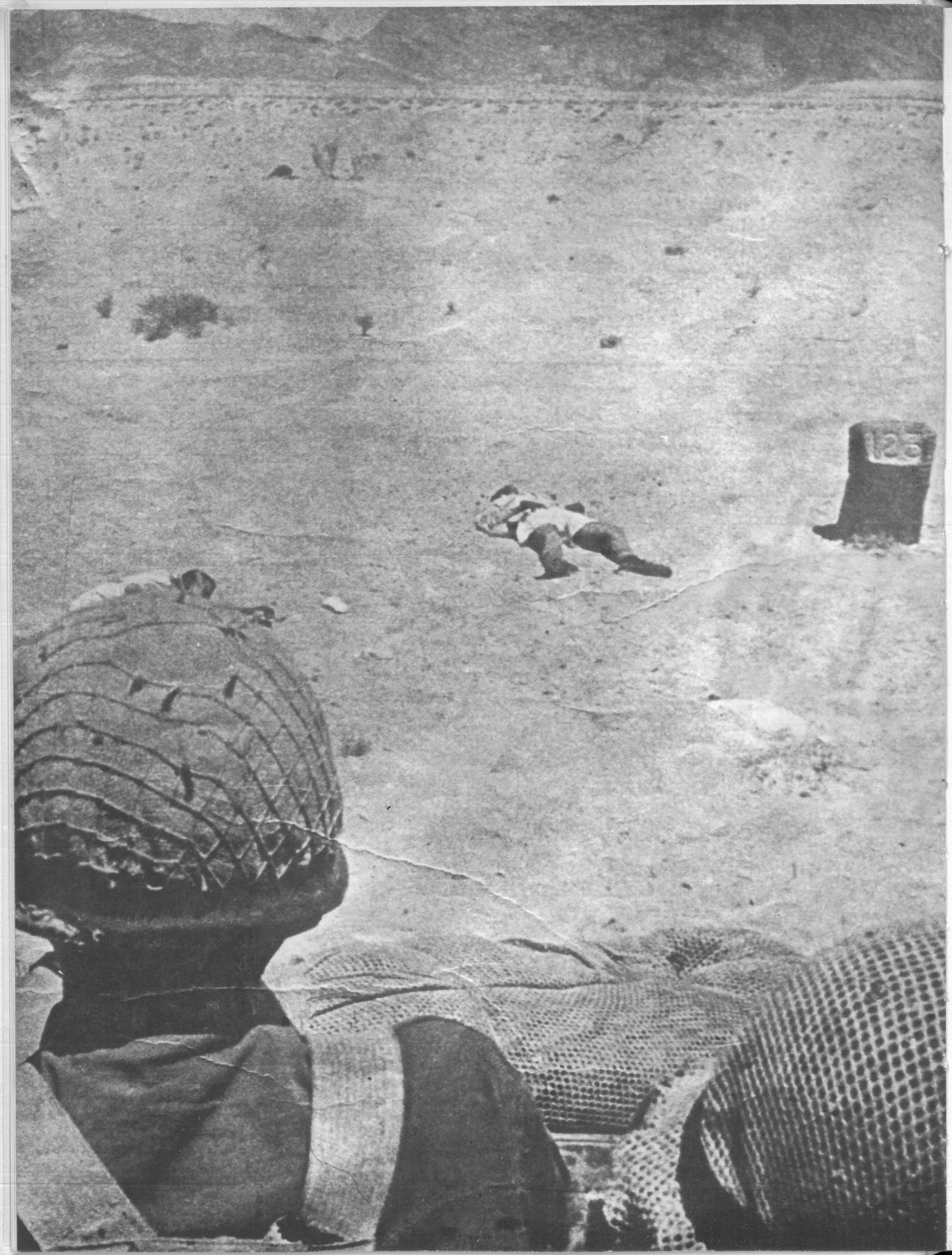
CHAIM WEIZMANN
First President of Israel



THE PALESTINIANS

Two decades and one war after their exodus from Palestine, a new breed of Palestinians has emerged that possesses a fierce determination to vindicate the past.

5-26-90



"Yesterday...
an 'Arab' (we never call them Palestinian)
lay face down, near some tiny backward town.
And when we tried to lift him up, we found
he lay as if embedded in the ground.
What a waste of youth! resisting all our efforts
to unclench his hand.
And in it — stranger still —
a chunk of bloodied earth, a grain of sand.
A dead boy clinging to a hill."

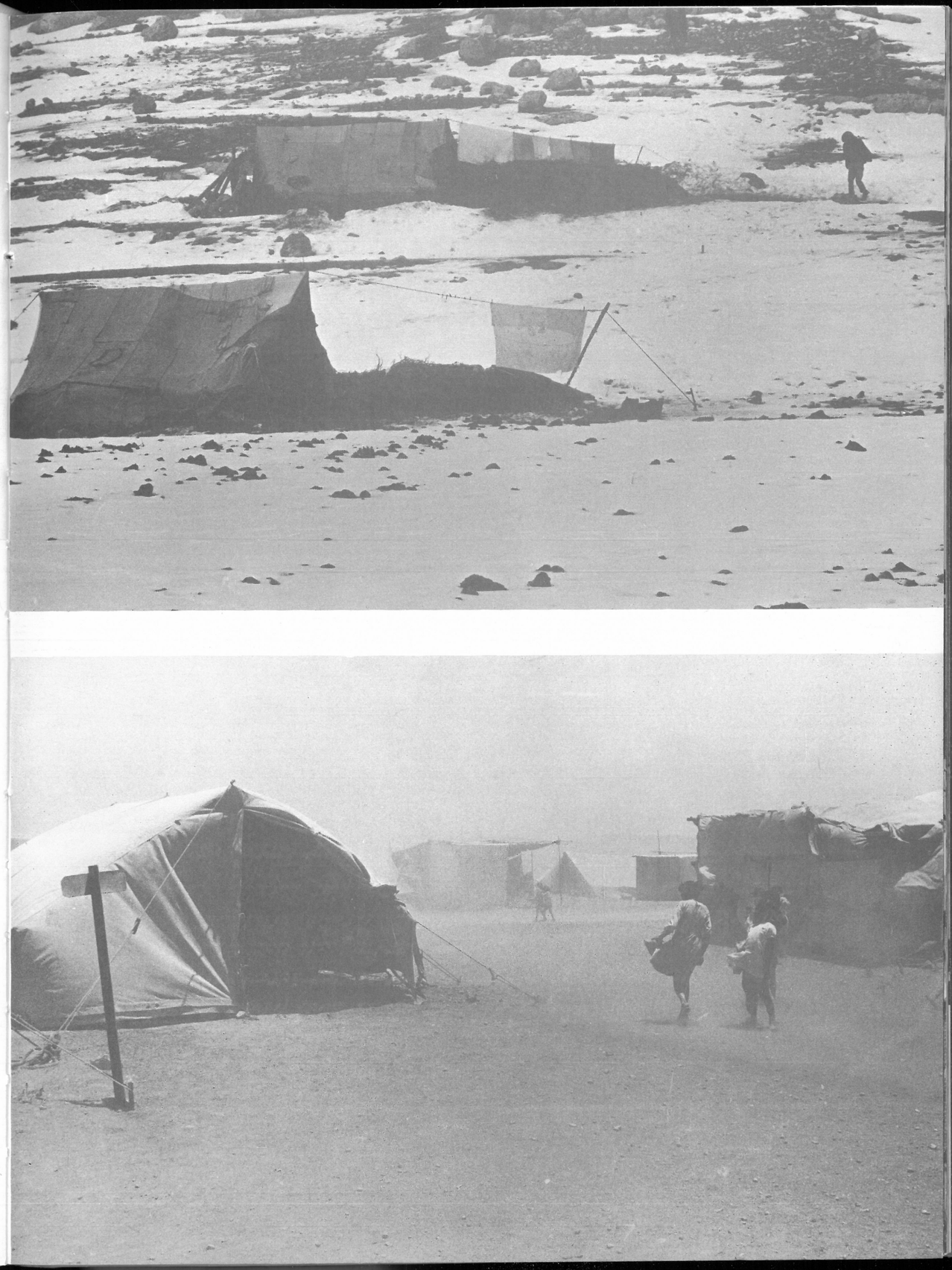
AMELIA MARTIN

"Write down,
I am an Arab,
I am a name without a title,
steadfast in a frenzied world."

MAHMOUD DARWISH

Today, much of the life of the Palestinian Arabs, whether living in exile in the neighbouring Arab countries or under Israeli occupation, is taken up with the sheer effort of preserving an individual existence and collective identity.

Snow, mud and dust storms are no strangers to the refugees

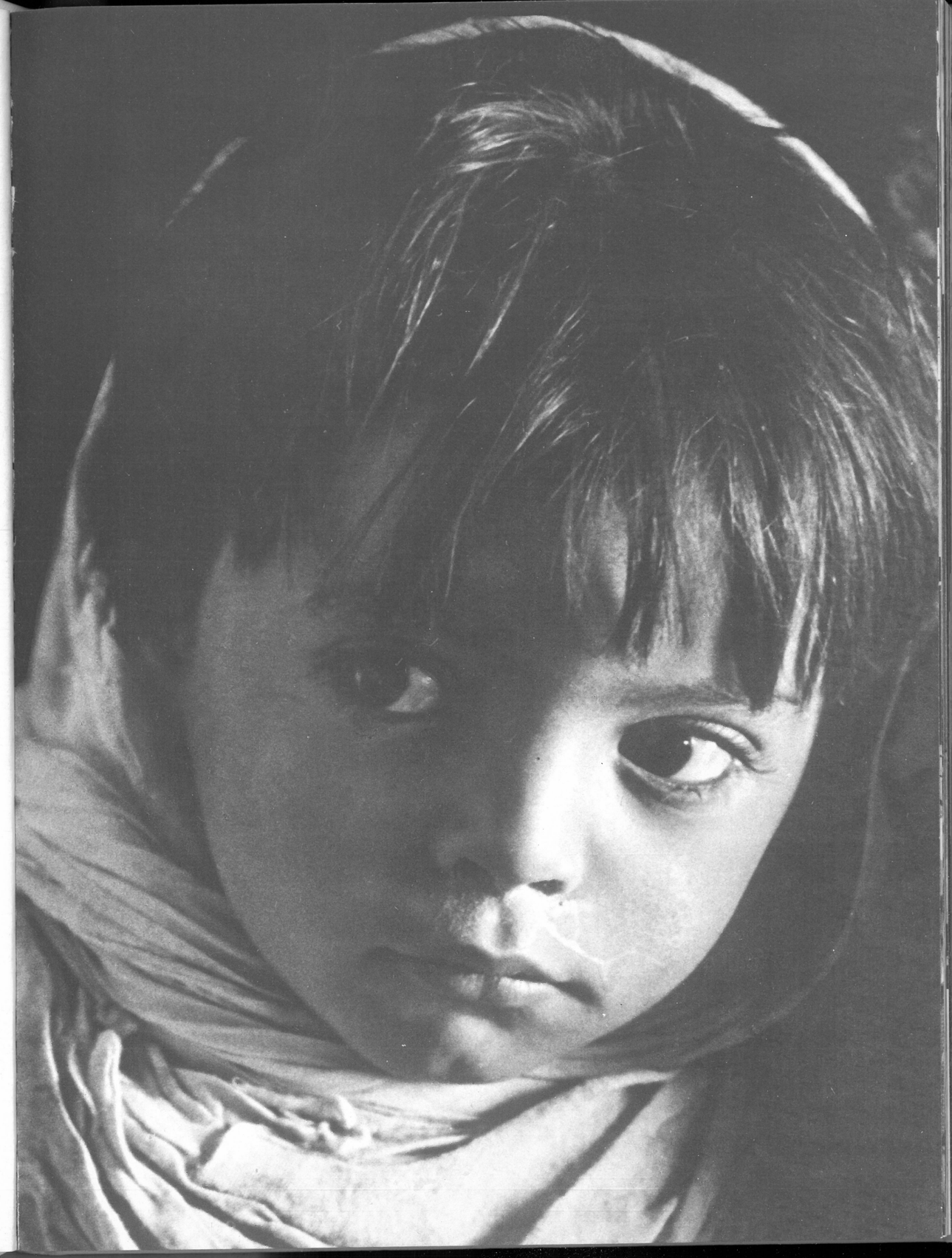


Palestinian students demonstrating in favour of the resistance movement (Al Fatah) in London.

Altogether, over two million persons stand affected by events in Palestine...

"... deep inside,
In that silent place,
Where a child's fears crouch."
LILLIAN SMITH

Mass arrest of Palestinians in Nablus



Our inheritance has been turned over to strangers, our homes to aliens.

LAMENTATIONS 5 : 1 - 2

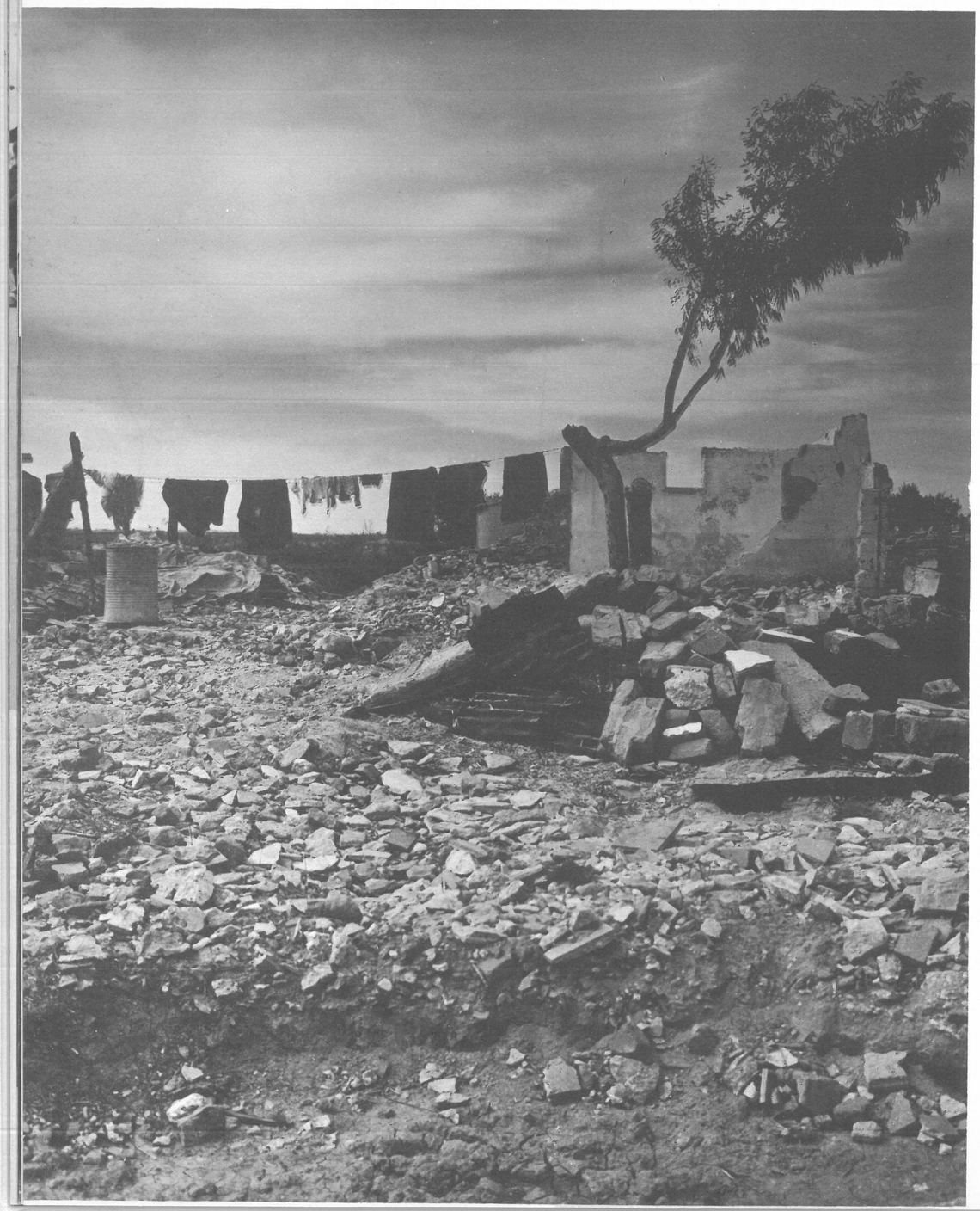
A large number are wards of the international community receiving meager but indispensable aid from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

"O God! that bread should be so dear, And flesh and blood so cheap." THOMAS HOOD

"I left life in silence,
As if there were bars
between me and the others.
My longings chained,
As if I were a prisoner."
AHMAD HEGAZY

An UNRWA camp in the Gaza Strip

Many continue to endure a daily existence in makeshift tents, caves and crowded lodgings, depending on their own resources for survival.



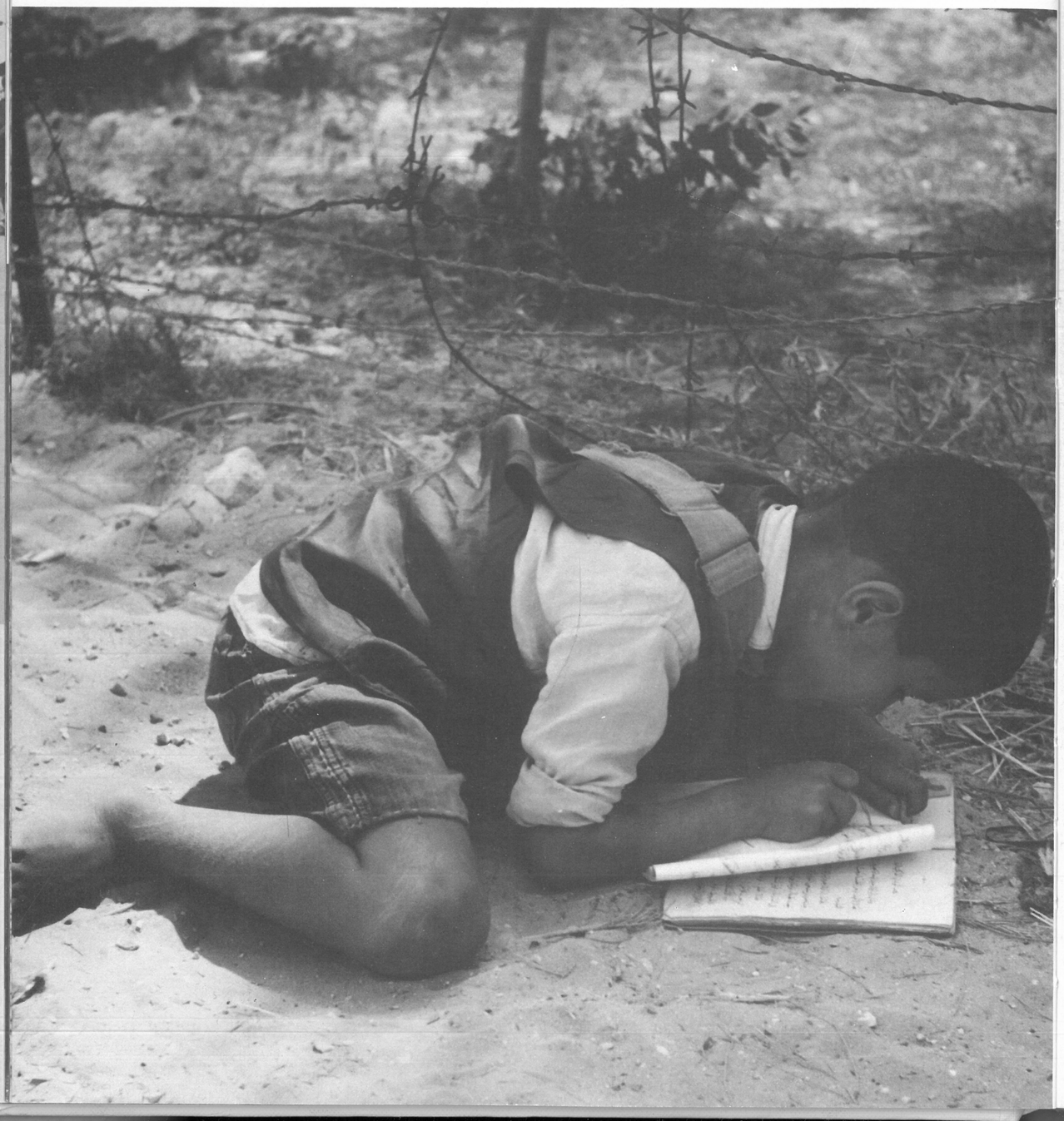
The Ghattas family of eight live in their one-room shelter in Bethlehem

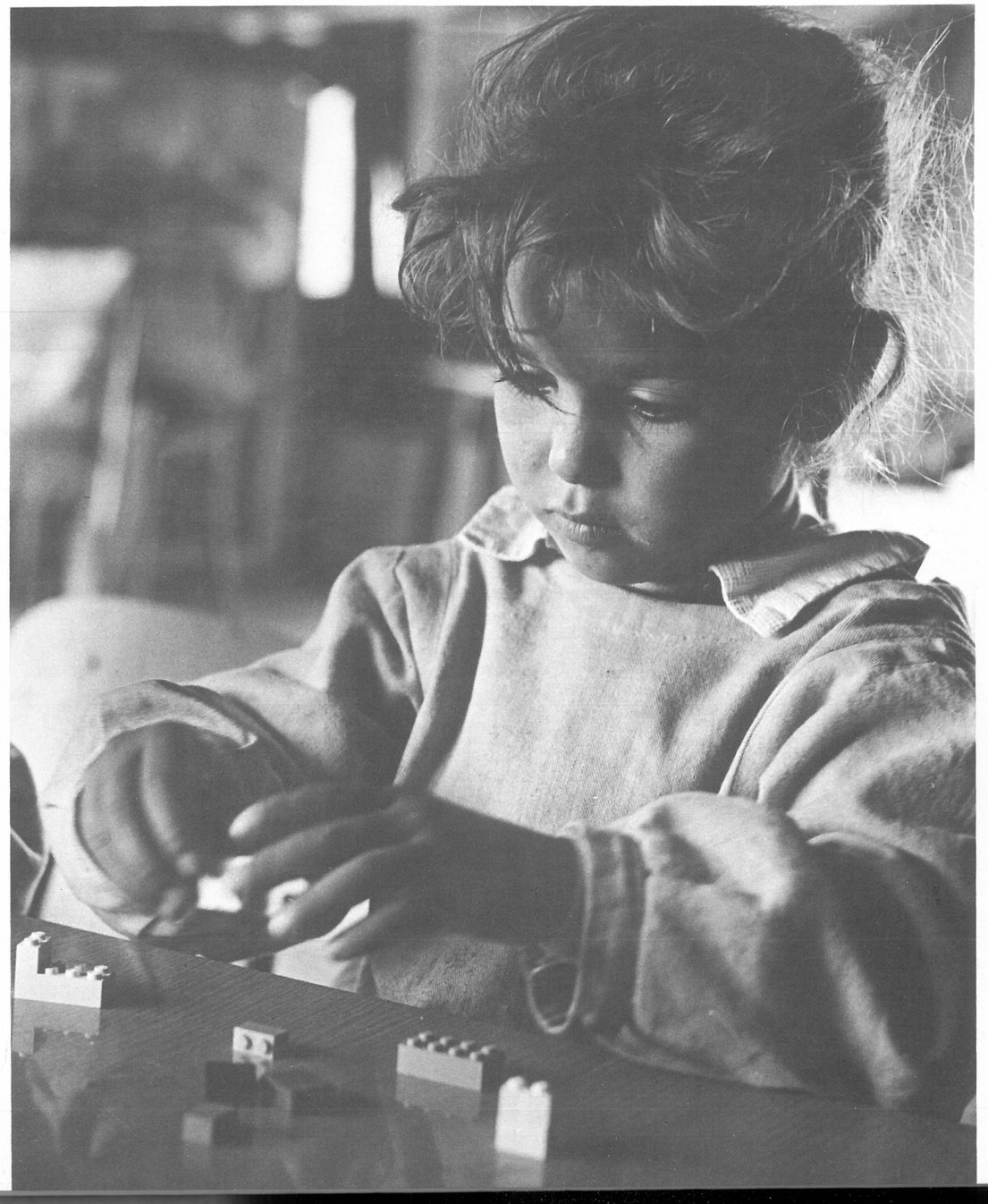
Two members of the Ghattas family worshipping in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem

Despite their disrupted lives, the children and young adults are eager to continue their education.

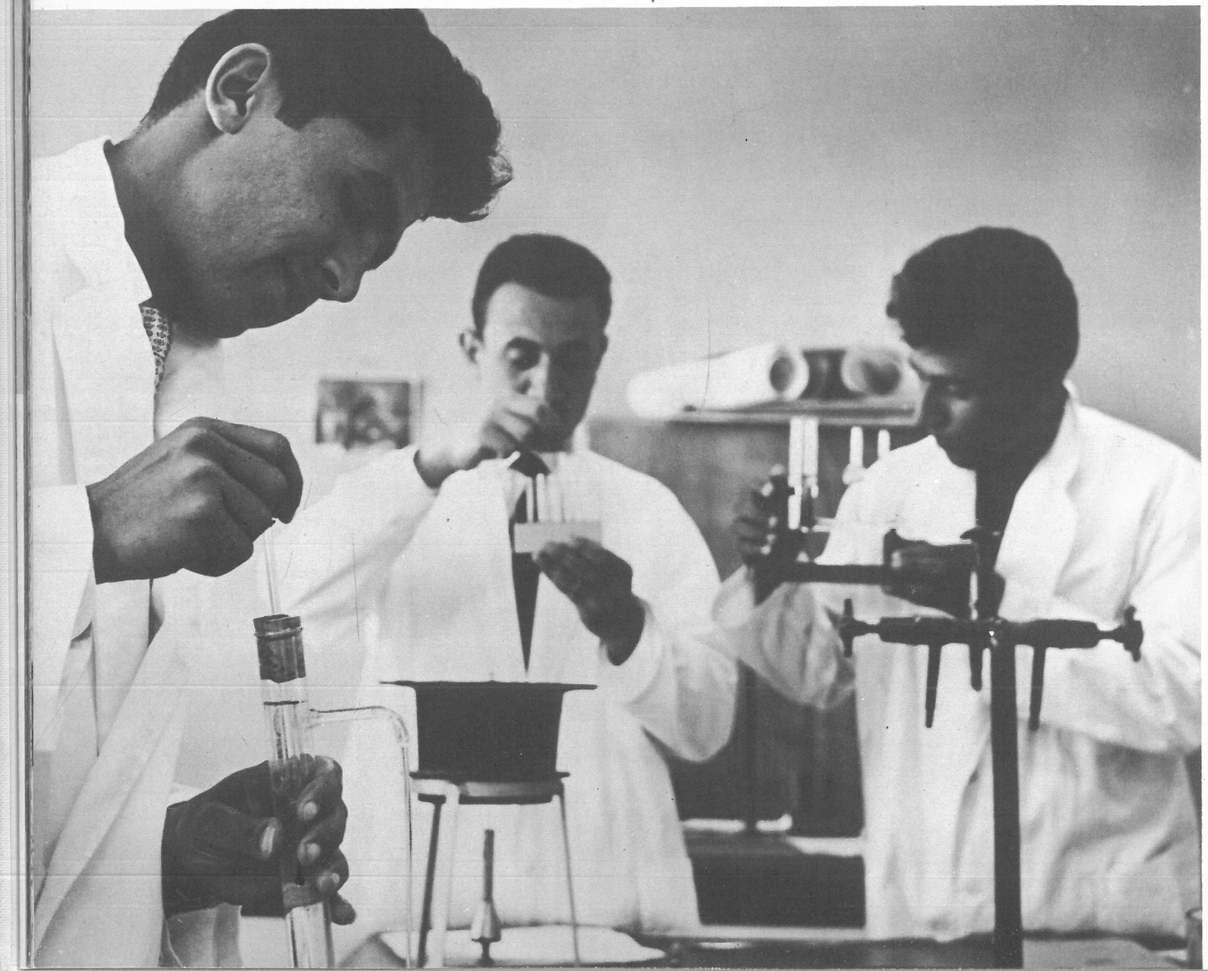
Going to school

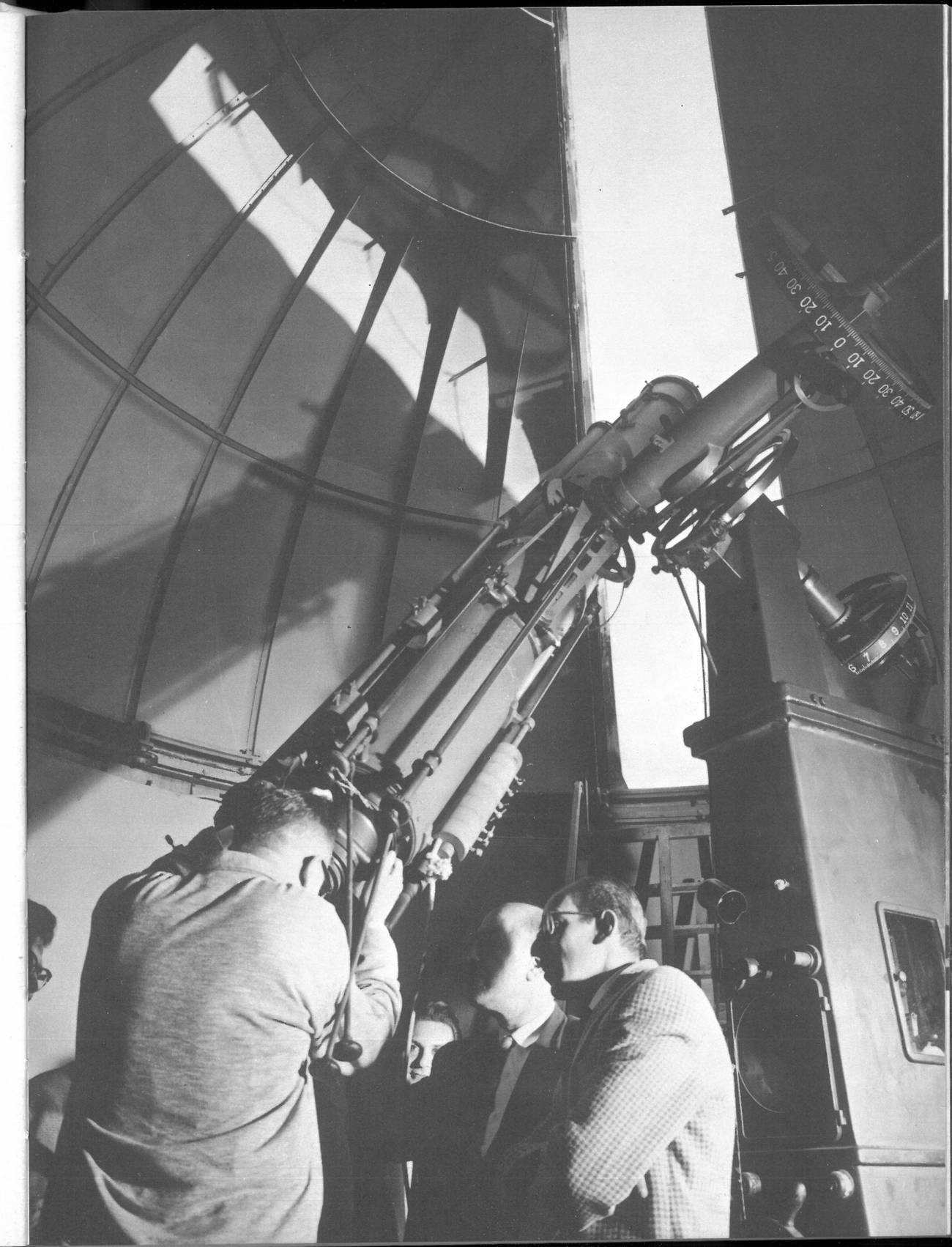
A quiet corner in which to study





About fifty thousand Palestinian Arabs have graduated from college since 1948.





Dr. Adel Afifi operating an electron microscopy unit

Joumana Bayazid - Palestinian painter

The Arabs who did not flee Palestine in 1948 have been living "...under a complex of legal restrictions. Their movements into, out of, and within security zones are regulated by the military. Legal residents could be banished and their property confiscated. Whole villages could be removed from one area to another."

DON PERETZ

Arab mosque in Beersheba converted into the Negev Archeological Museum

Onetime Arab home in Haifa

Arab home in Beersheba boarded up

Arab homes in ruins in Tiberias

Onetime Arab residence in Jaffa

Arab home in Beersheba converted into a Jewish pharmacy

Freedom from occupation is today the main concern of the Palestinians. They express it daily by acts of passive and active resistance .

Israeli patrol checking for mines planted by Palestinian resistance fighters

"We will not leave our land."

Mehne Yehuda Market explosion in Jerusalem caused by the bomb of a Palestinian resistance fighter (1968)

Civil resistance march

Resistance fighters before the Israeli courts

Rauhi El-Khatib, Mayor of Jerusalem, addressing the press after his expulsion (1968)

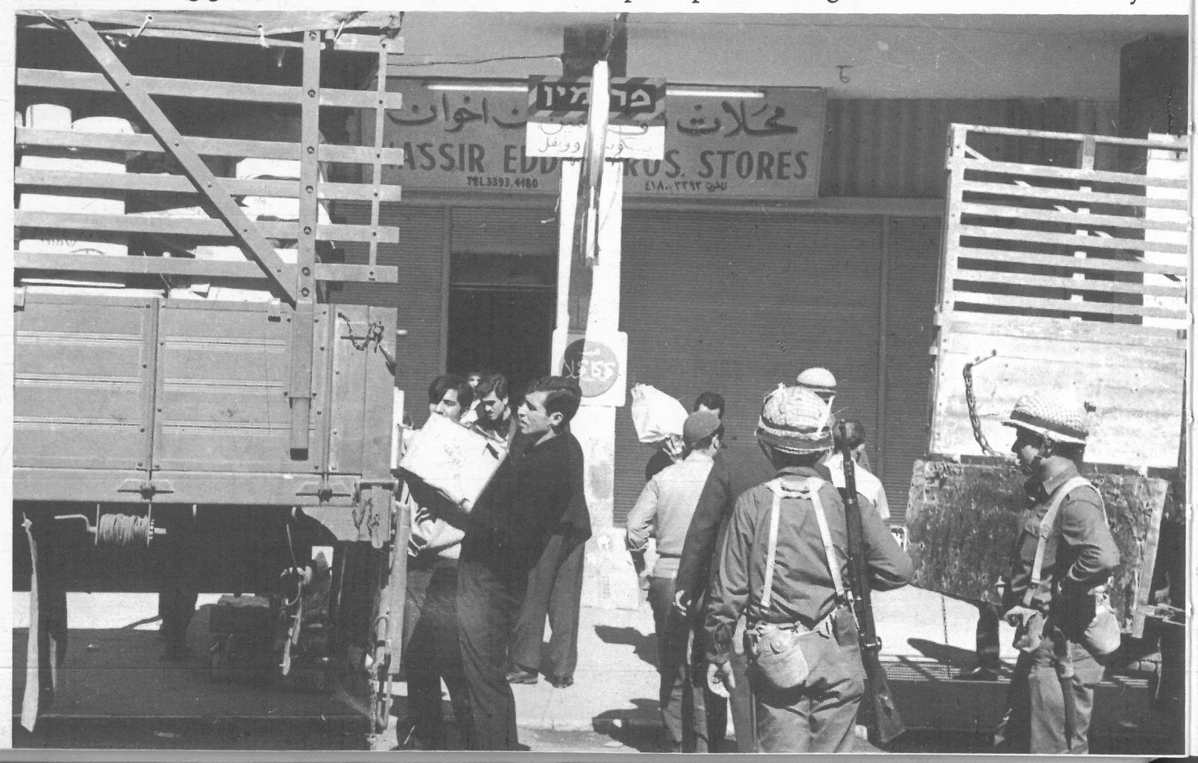
Israeli efforts to stem the resistance ...

Israeli soldiers preparing to dynamite an Arab home said to have sheltered a Palestinian resistance fighter

An Arab home demolished

A Street in Qalqilya

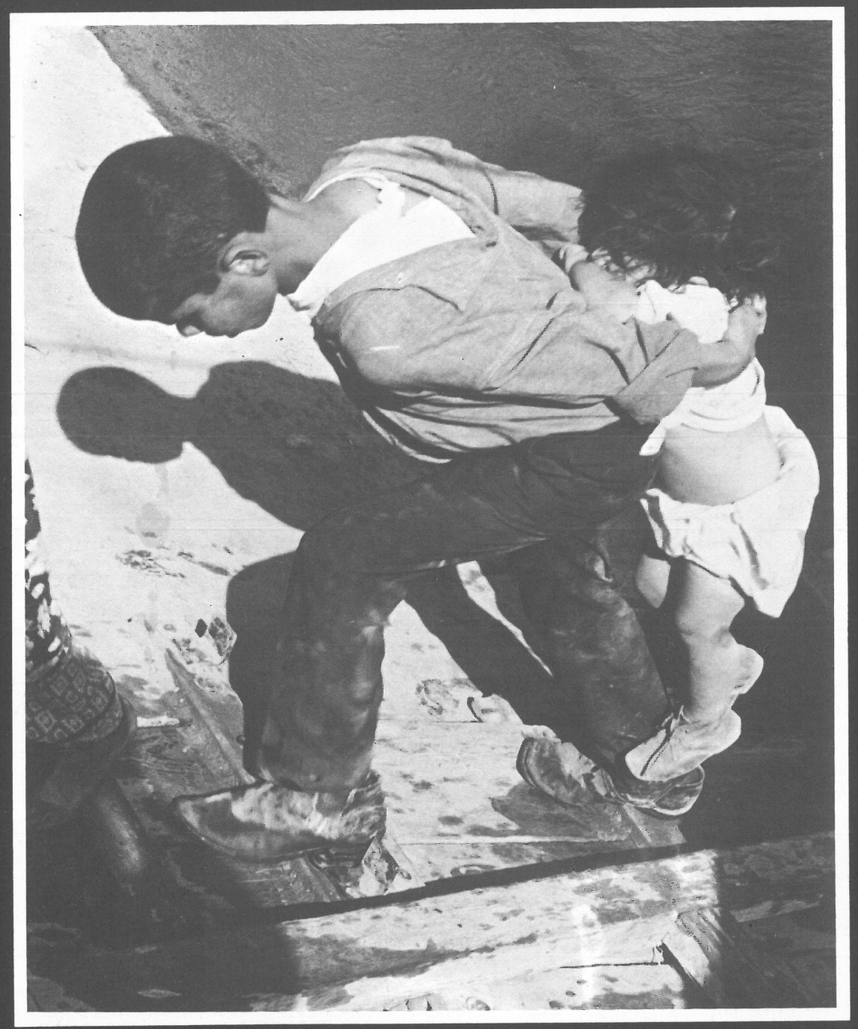
Israelis removing goods from the store of an Arab who participated in the general strike on Balfour Day



Expropriated Arab shops

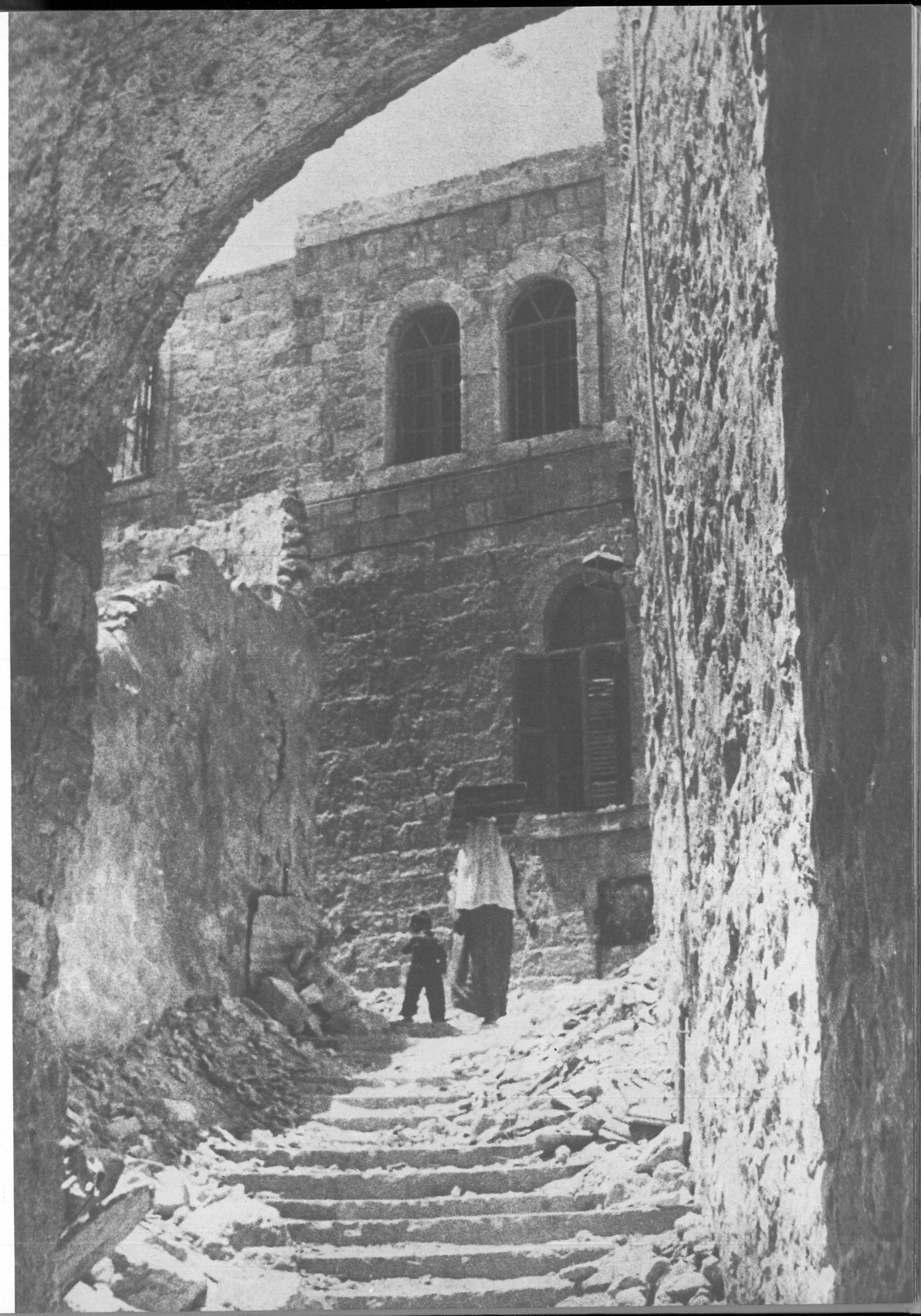
Israeli soldiers marking Arab shops for expropriation

Continuing exodus...



"At the time of the creation of Israel, were things as we saw them today? How many villages were razed? How many families expelled? Now we know that it was not the Arab armies which made the population flee and levelled the villages. They did not have time."

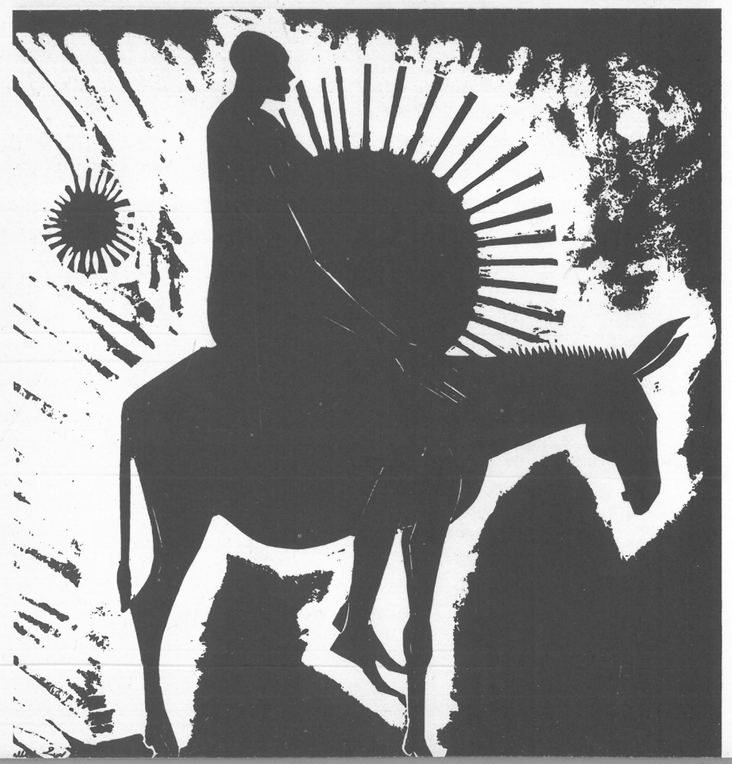
SISTER MARIE THERESE
of the Companions of Jesus (1967)

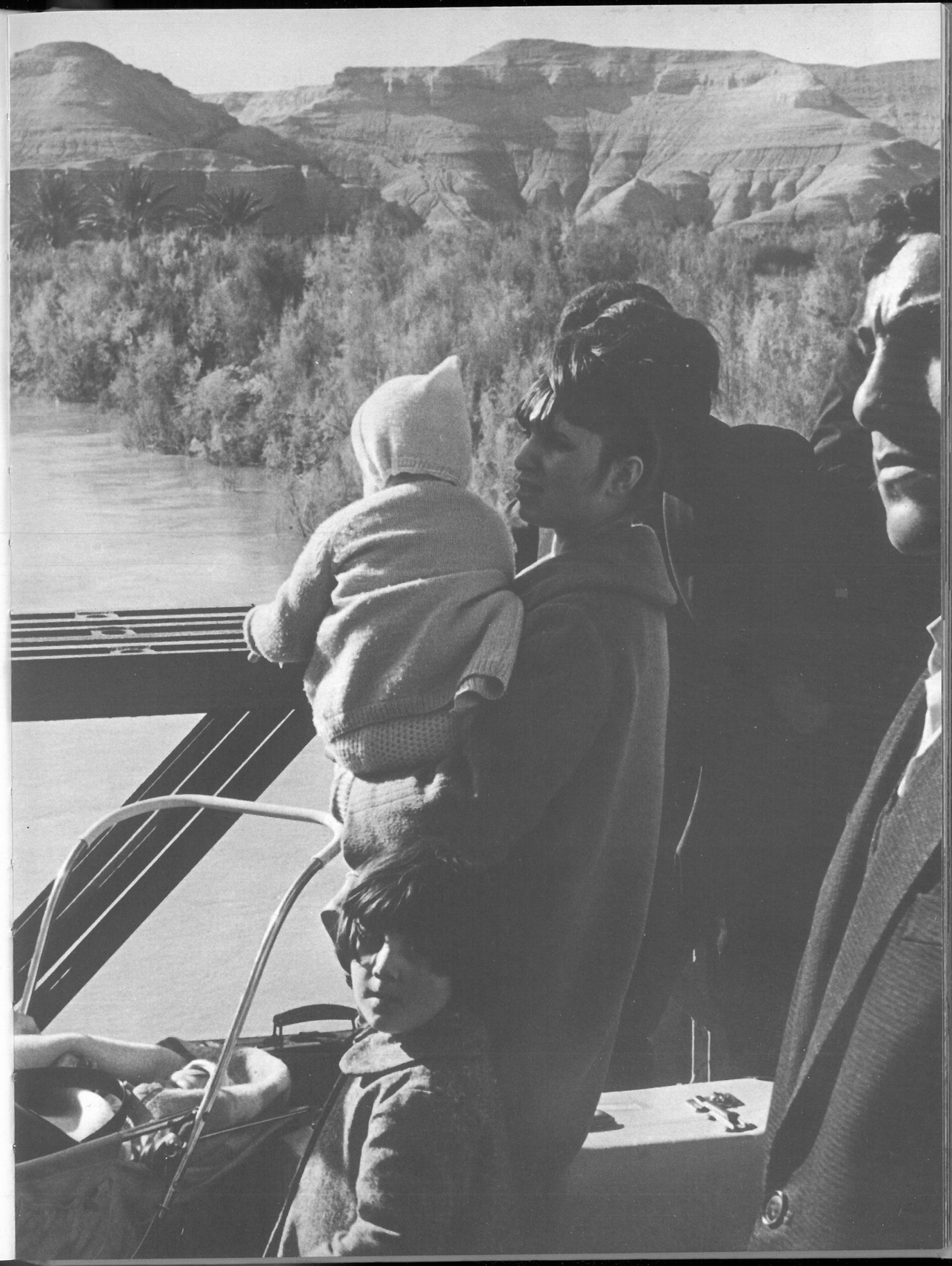


RECALLING THE PAST

"There is no greater sorrow than to recall, in misery, the time when we were happy."

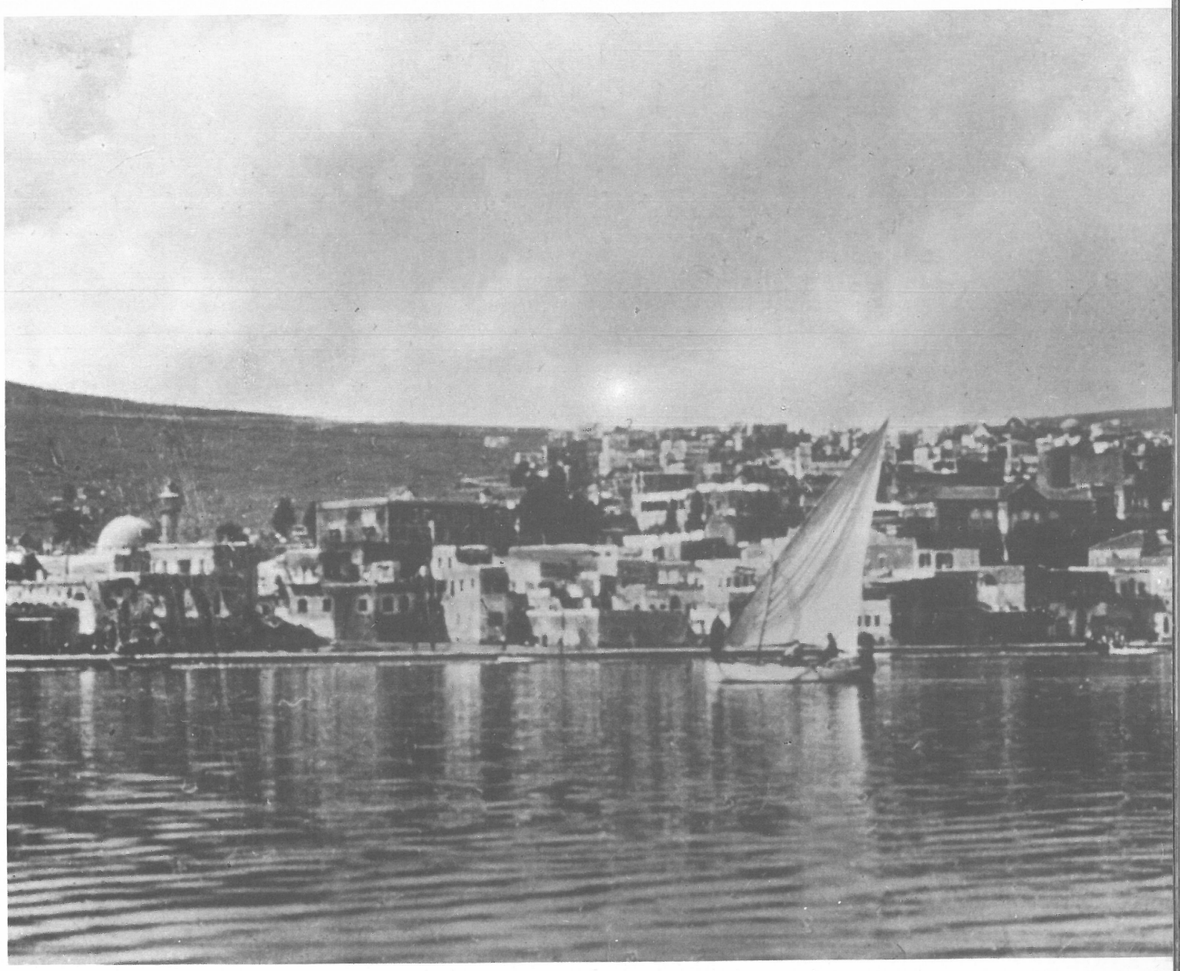
DANTE, INFERNO V





"A land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills."

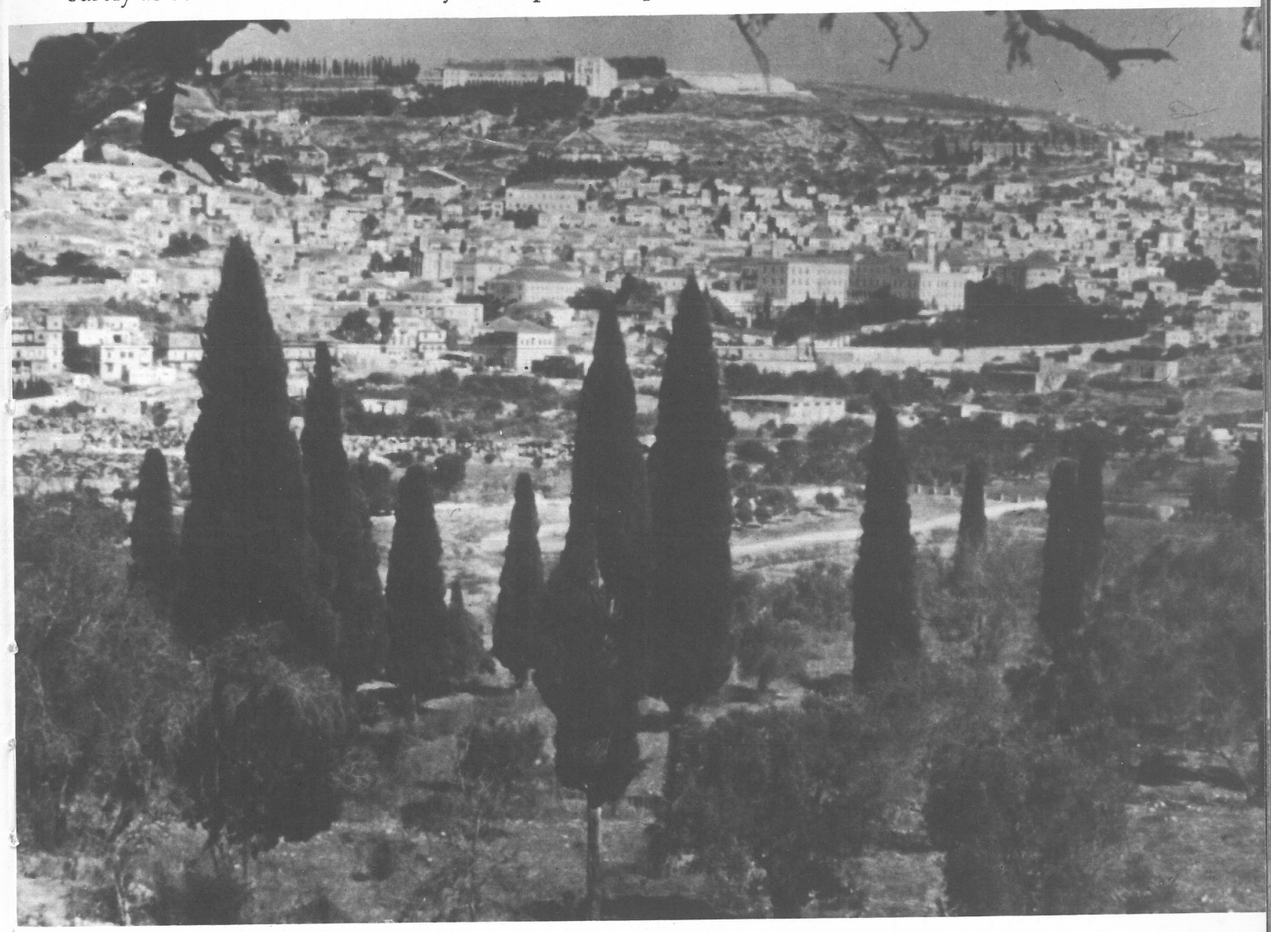
DEUTORONOMY 8:7

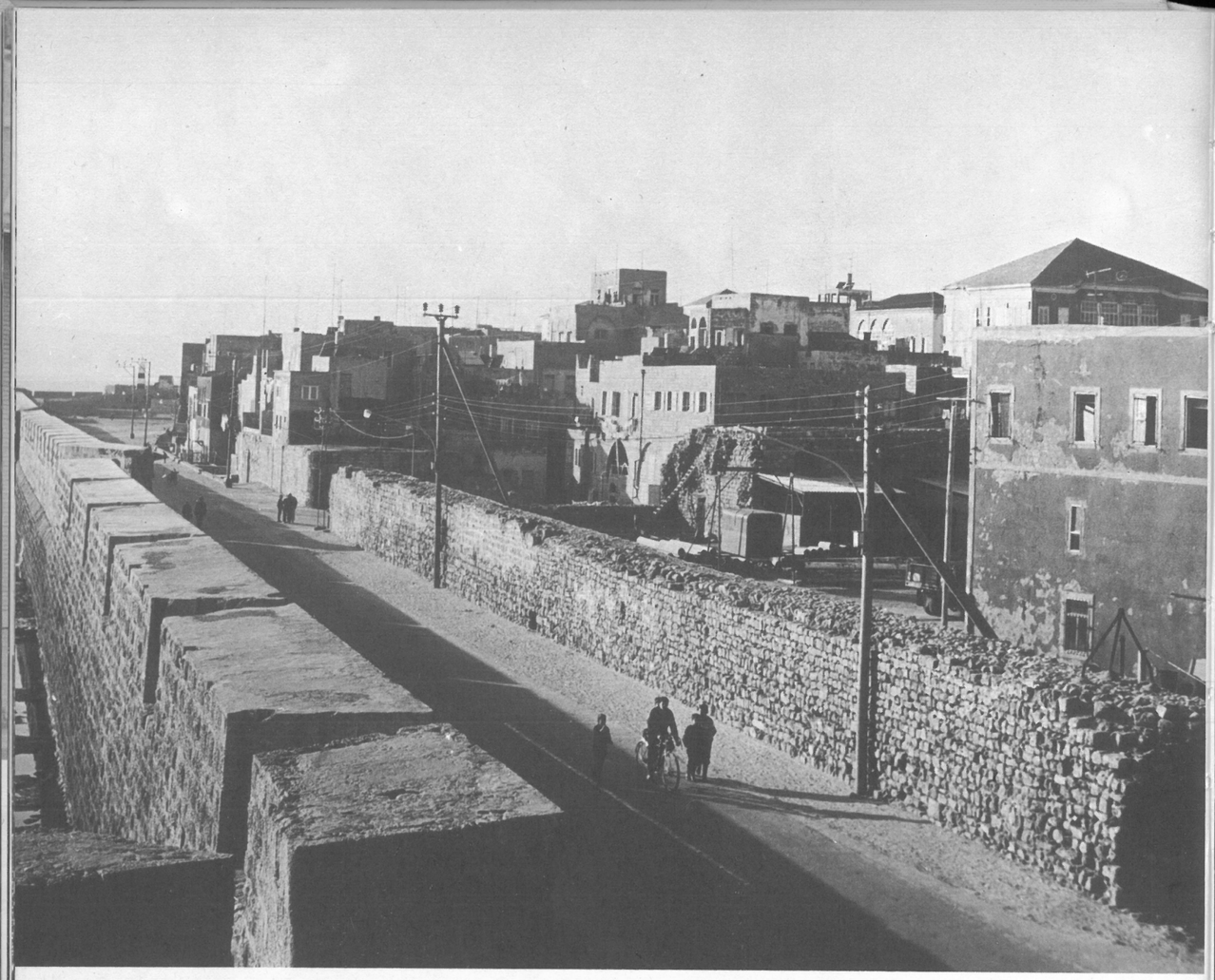


Tiberias : built by Herod Antipas and served as resort for the Palestinians (1946)

Ain Karim: the birthplace of John the Baptist (1944)

Nazareth: "A gay clean looking town... The houses are white, yellow, gray with red roofs solidly built of stone, surely as comfortable within as they were spick and span without." ROBERT HITCHENS, Traveller (1910)





Acre : a purely Arab town and principal port used by the Christian pilgrims

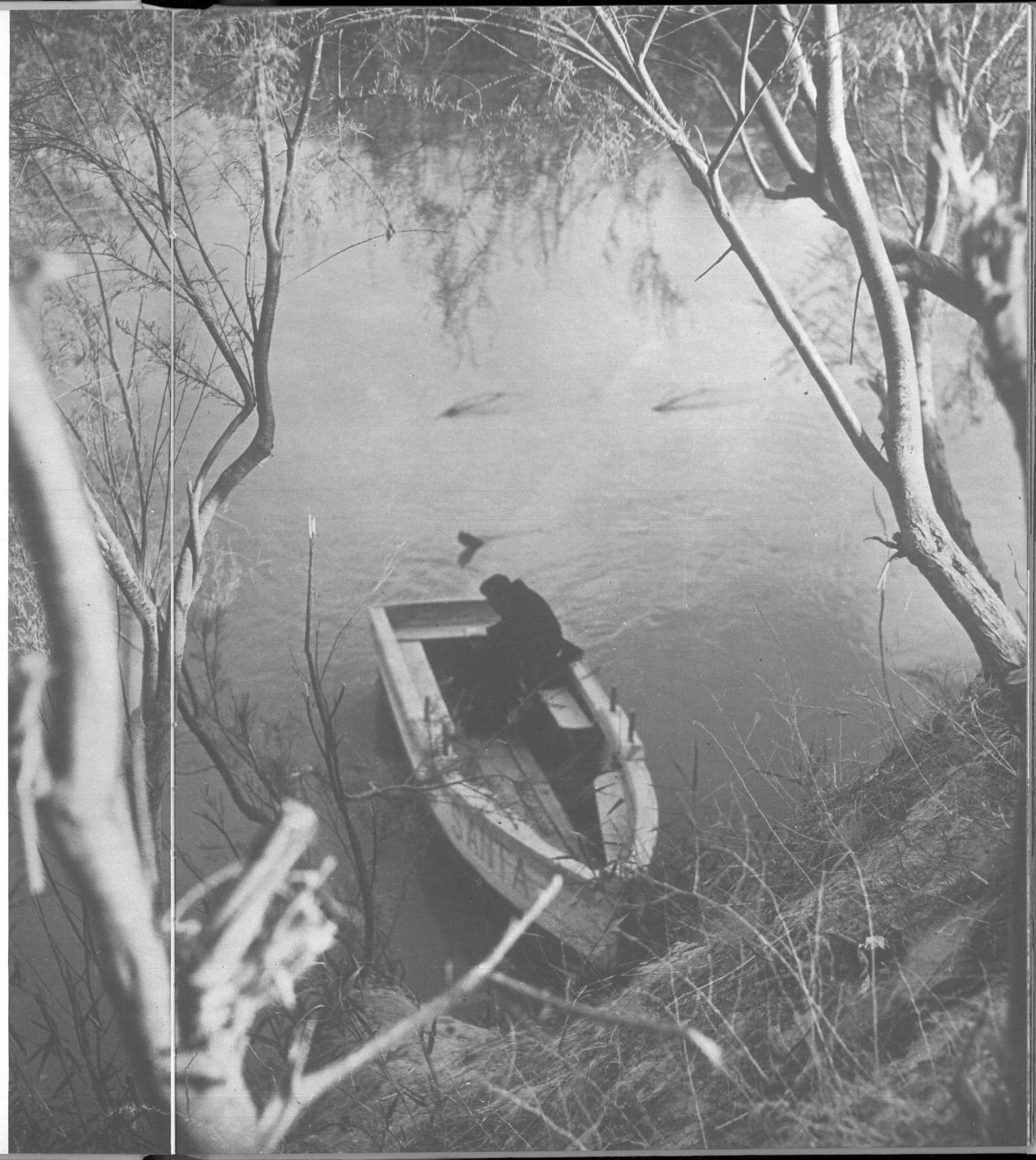
Pools of Solomon : water supply of Jerusalem

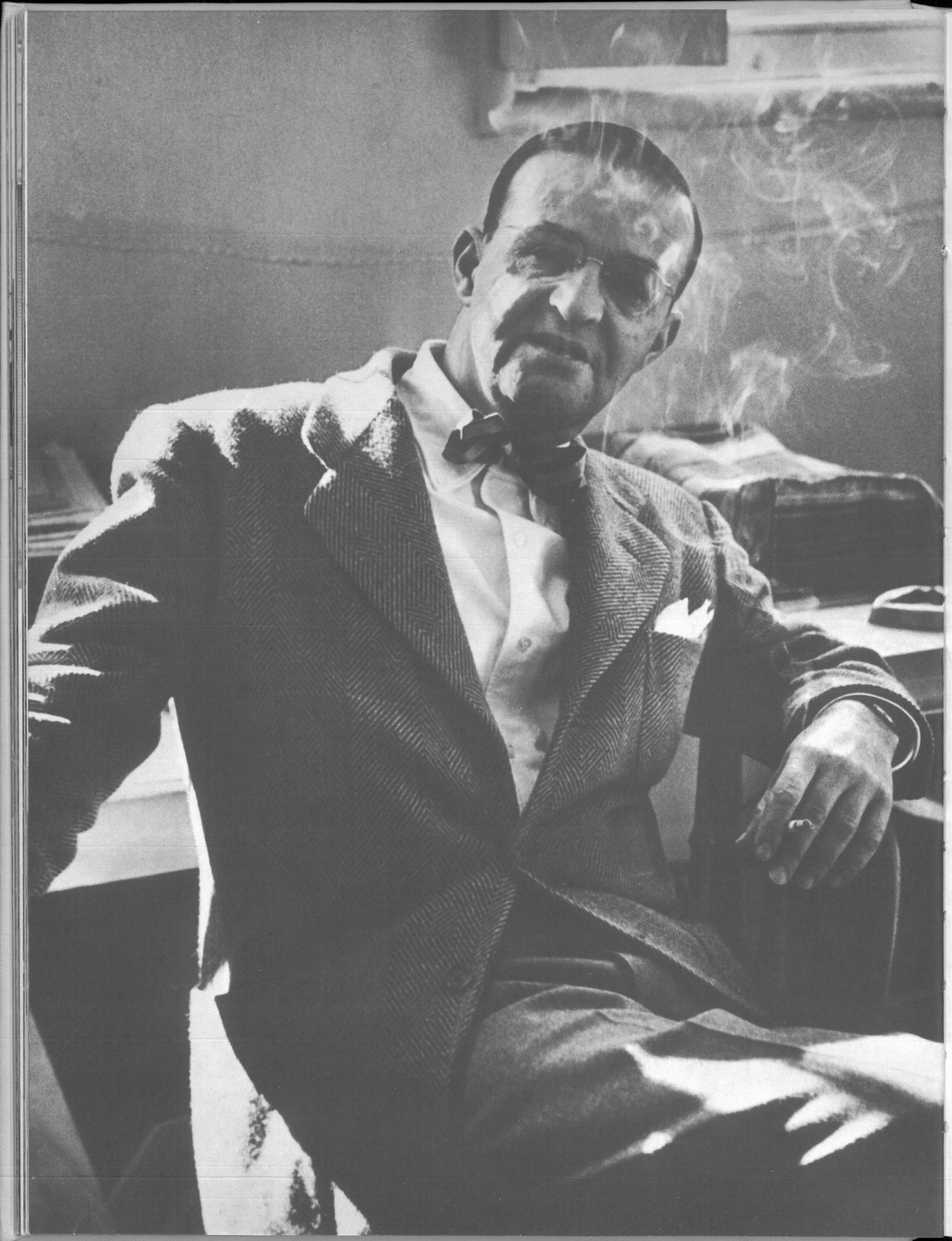
"And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan."

MARK 1:9

The River Jordan

A Coptic baptism ceremony in the sacred bend of the river (1937)



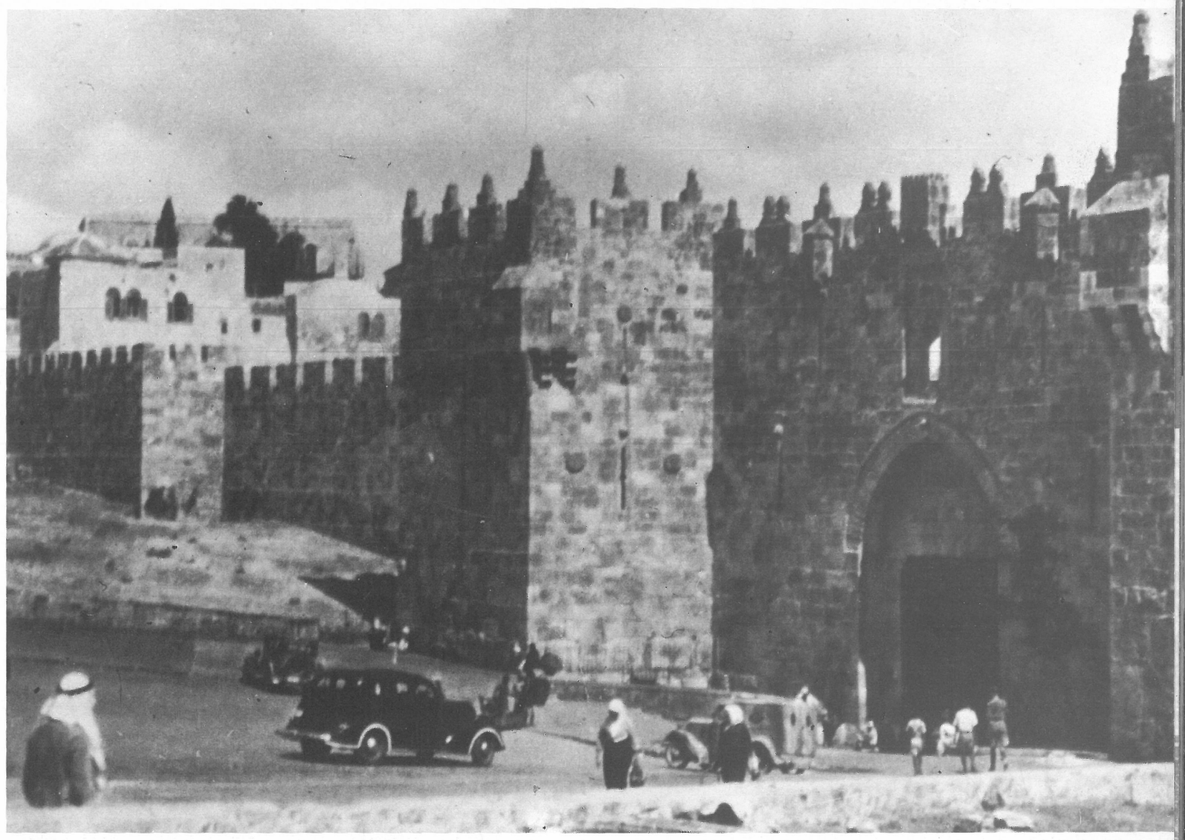


The Palestinians are descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of the country since the earliest recorded time.

Nabih A. Faris, Professor of History
and well-known author

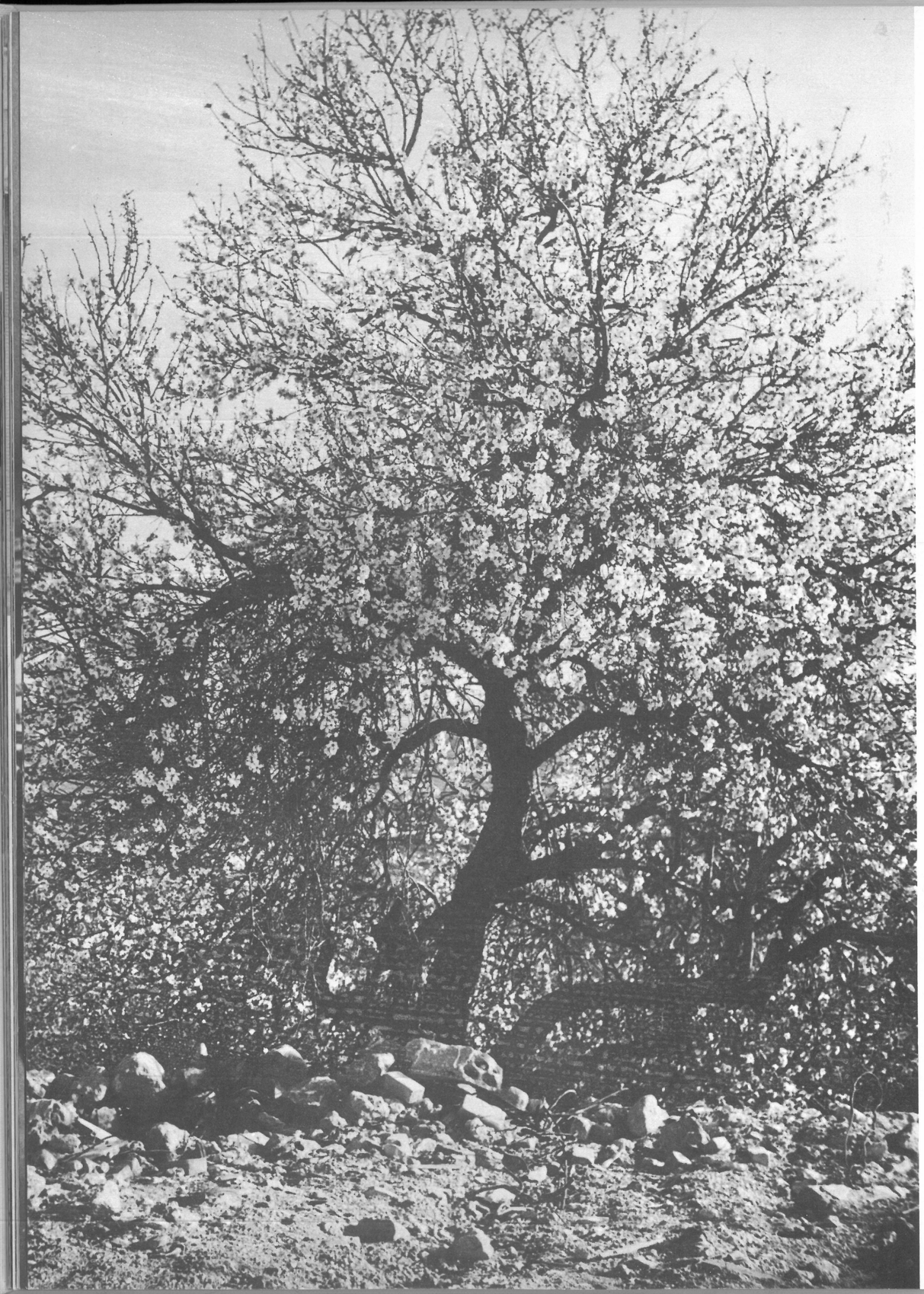
Elvira Sayegh,
university beauty queen

With the seventh century Arab Conquest, a new language, religion and tradition are adopted by the population which becomes arabized.



Damascus Gate during the British Mandate (1946)

The Porta Judicaria in Jerusalem (1964)



Palestine's ancient olive trees

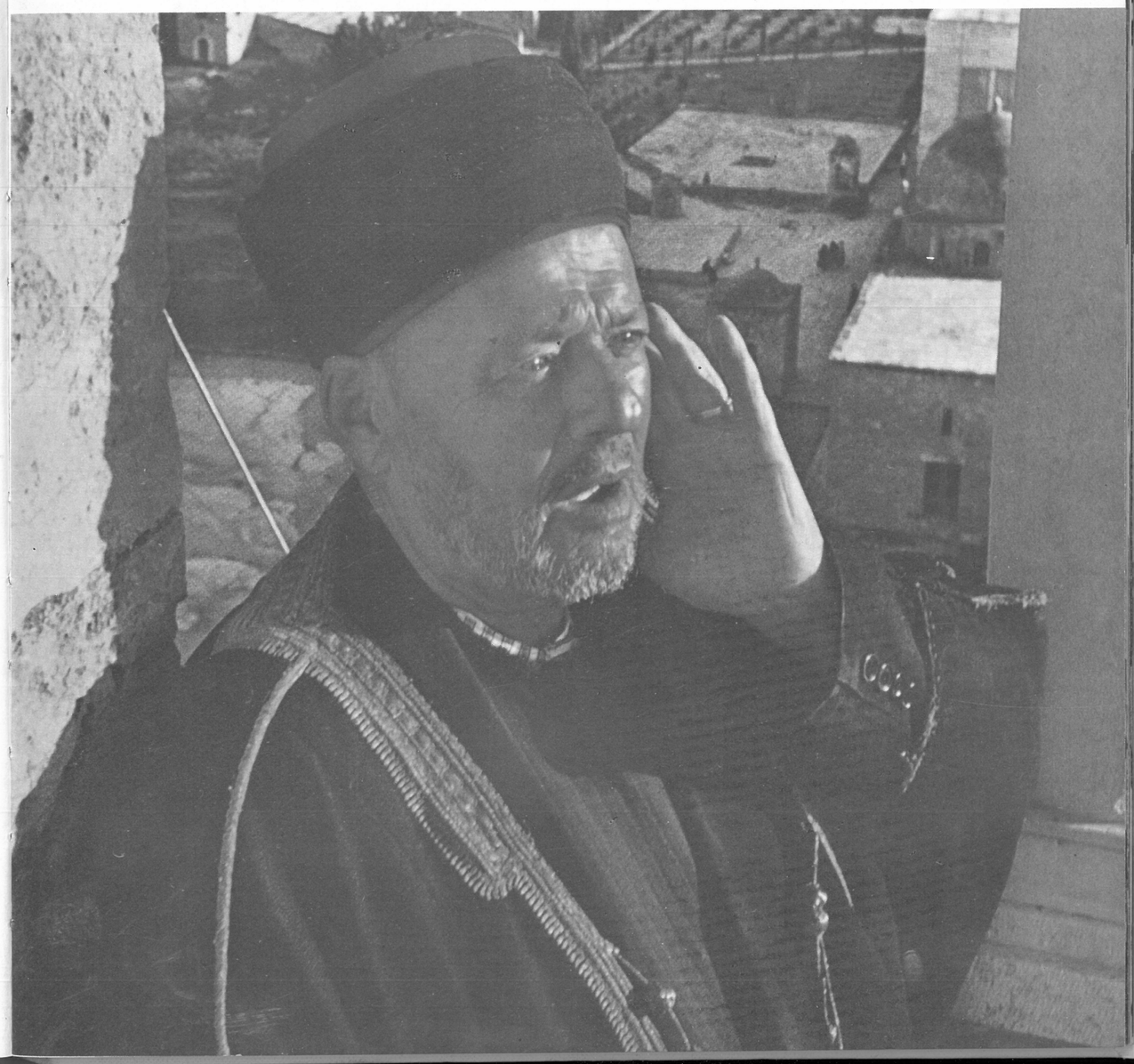
Palestinian farmer in his field

A flowering almond tree

The small Jewish community, though preserving its exclusiveness, adopts the Arabic language and culture.

Jewish market place in Beersheba (1968)

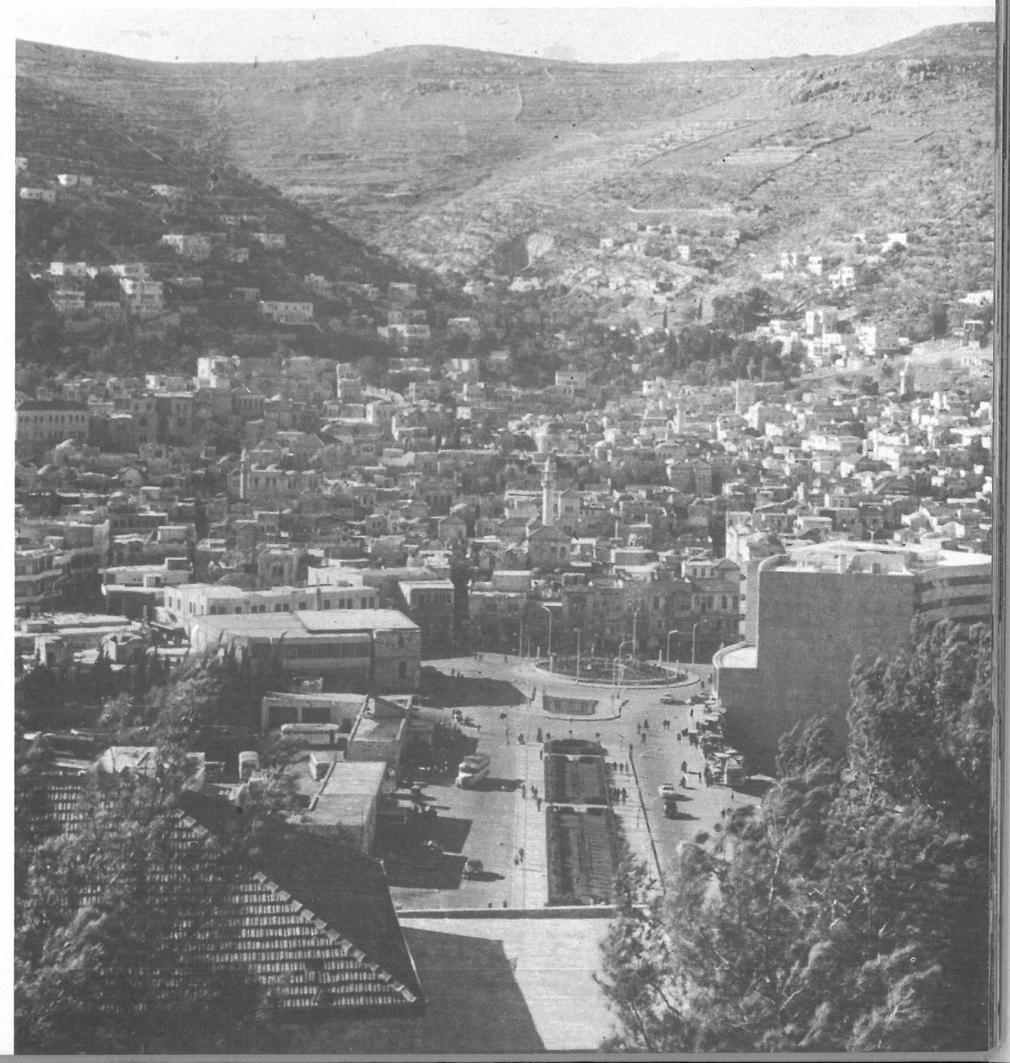
After 1918, Palestine becomes a separate political entity, but remains geographically and culturally part of the Arab world.



New city of Jerusalem (1946)

Arab residence in Jerusalem (1948)

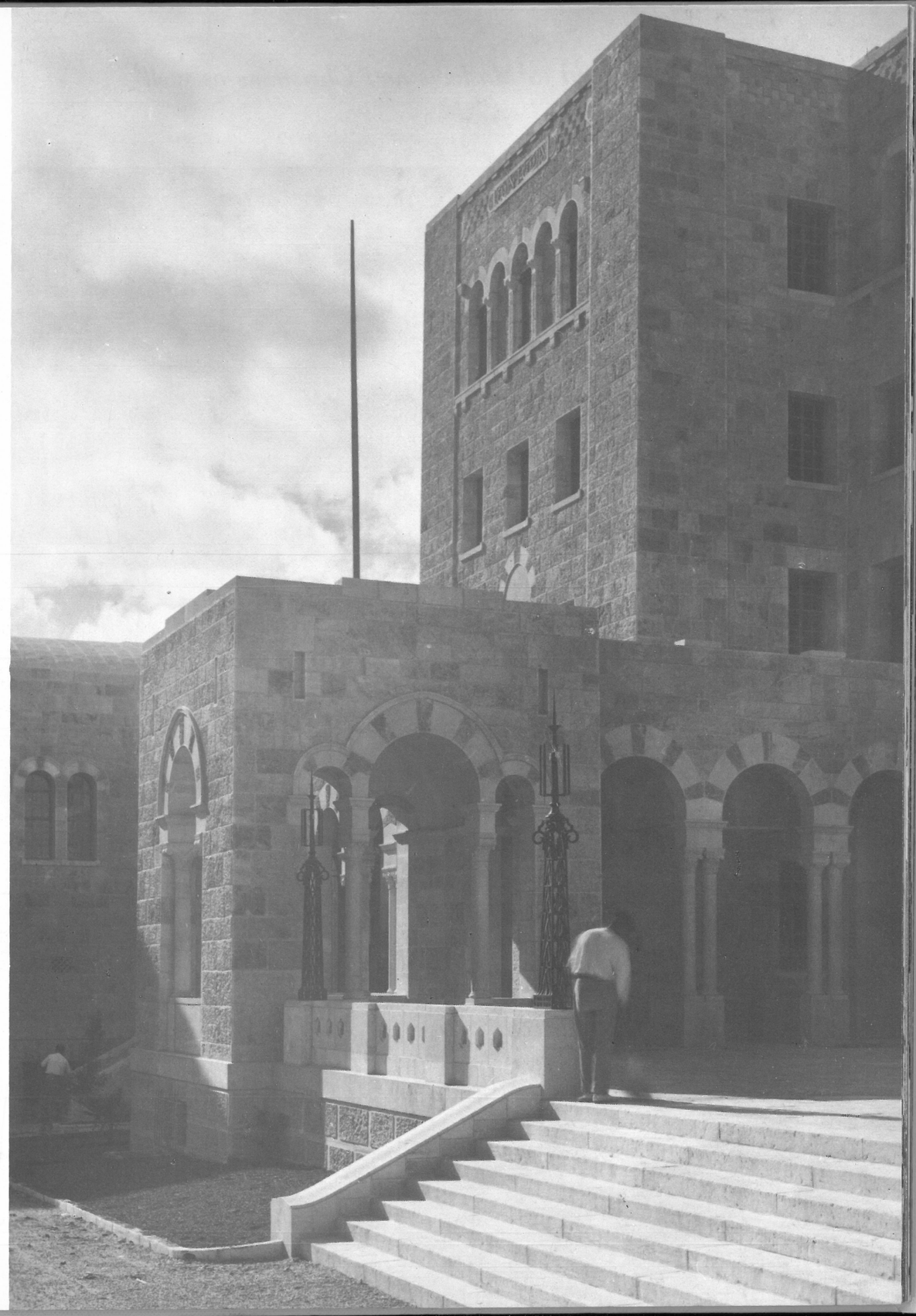
Nablus, the Arab centre for soap production



During the last quarter of the 19th century, the country comes into direct contact with the progressive spirit of the West. Great strides are taken by the Palestinians to adjust to the demands of the 20th century.

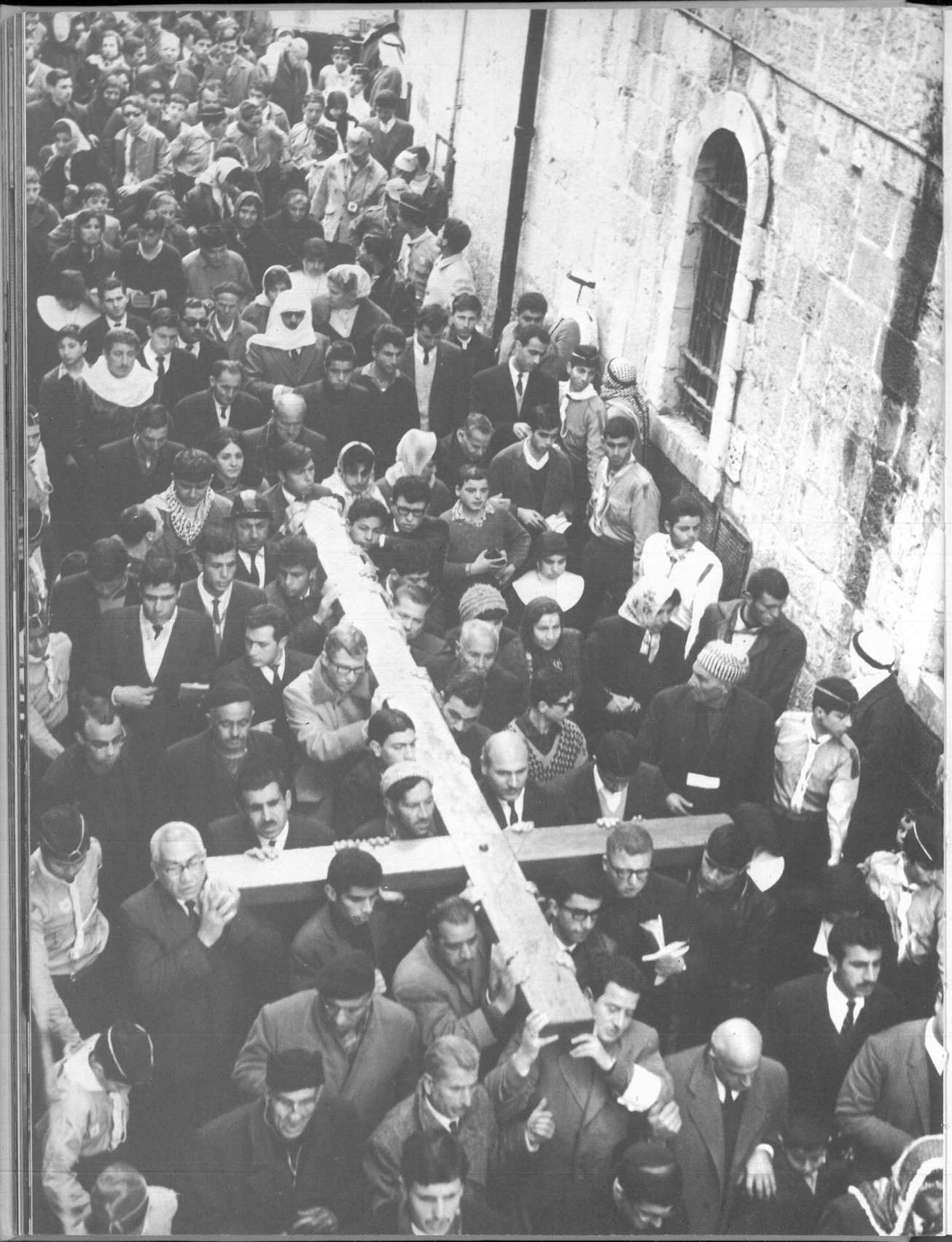
Palestinians practicing the ancient art of glass-blowing at open forges in Hebron

Y.M.C.A. building in Jerusalem (1932)



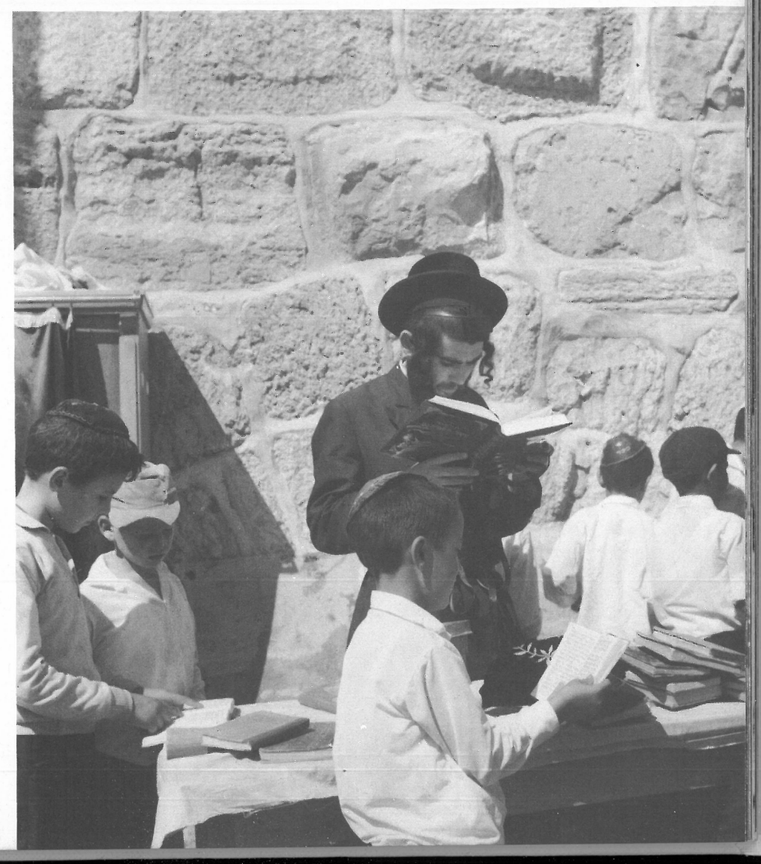
Palestine is a holy land to Moslems and Christians as well as to Jews.

Old City of Jerusalem.



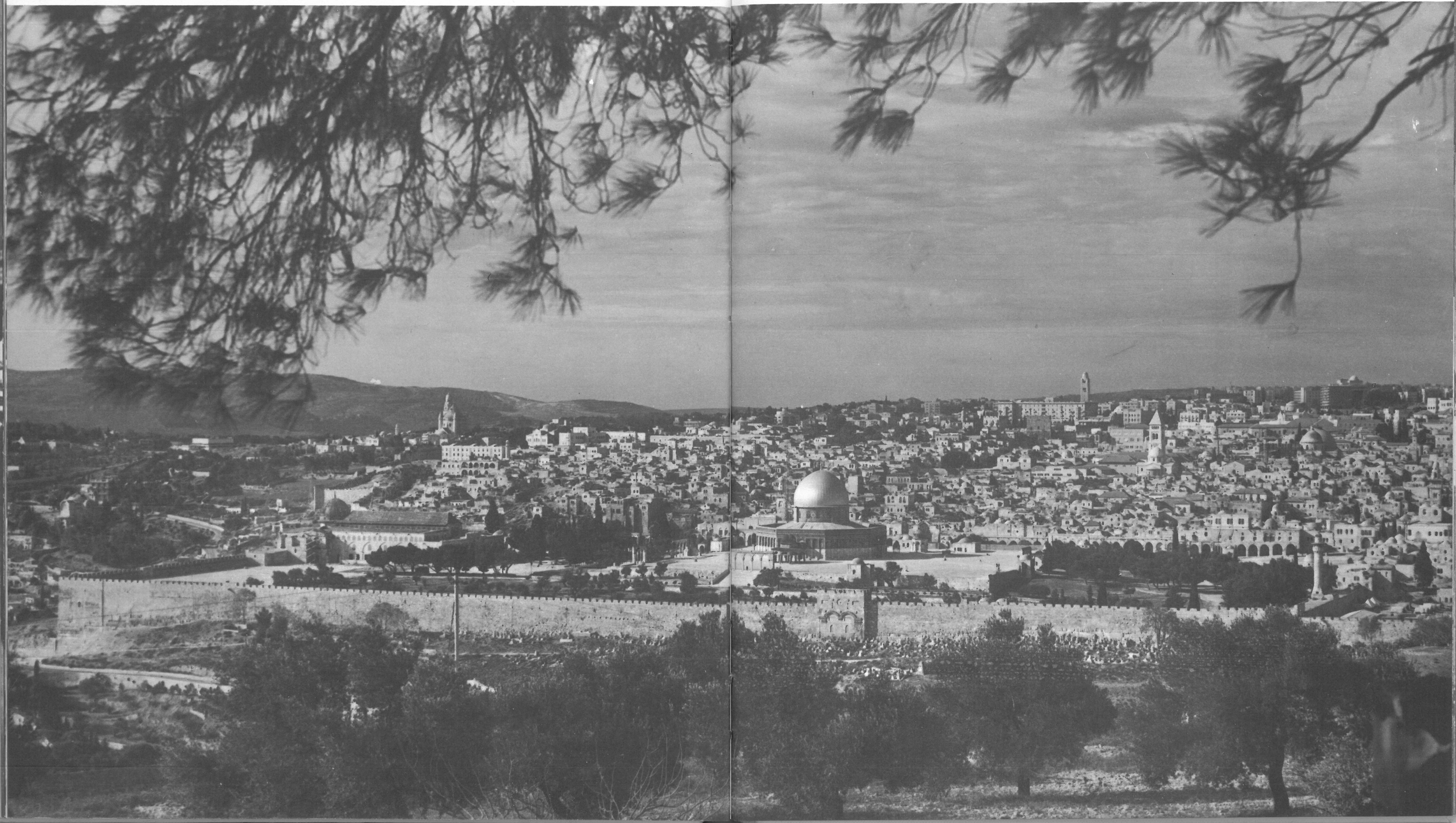
Moslems on their way to the
Mosque of Omar

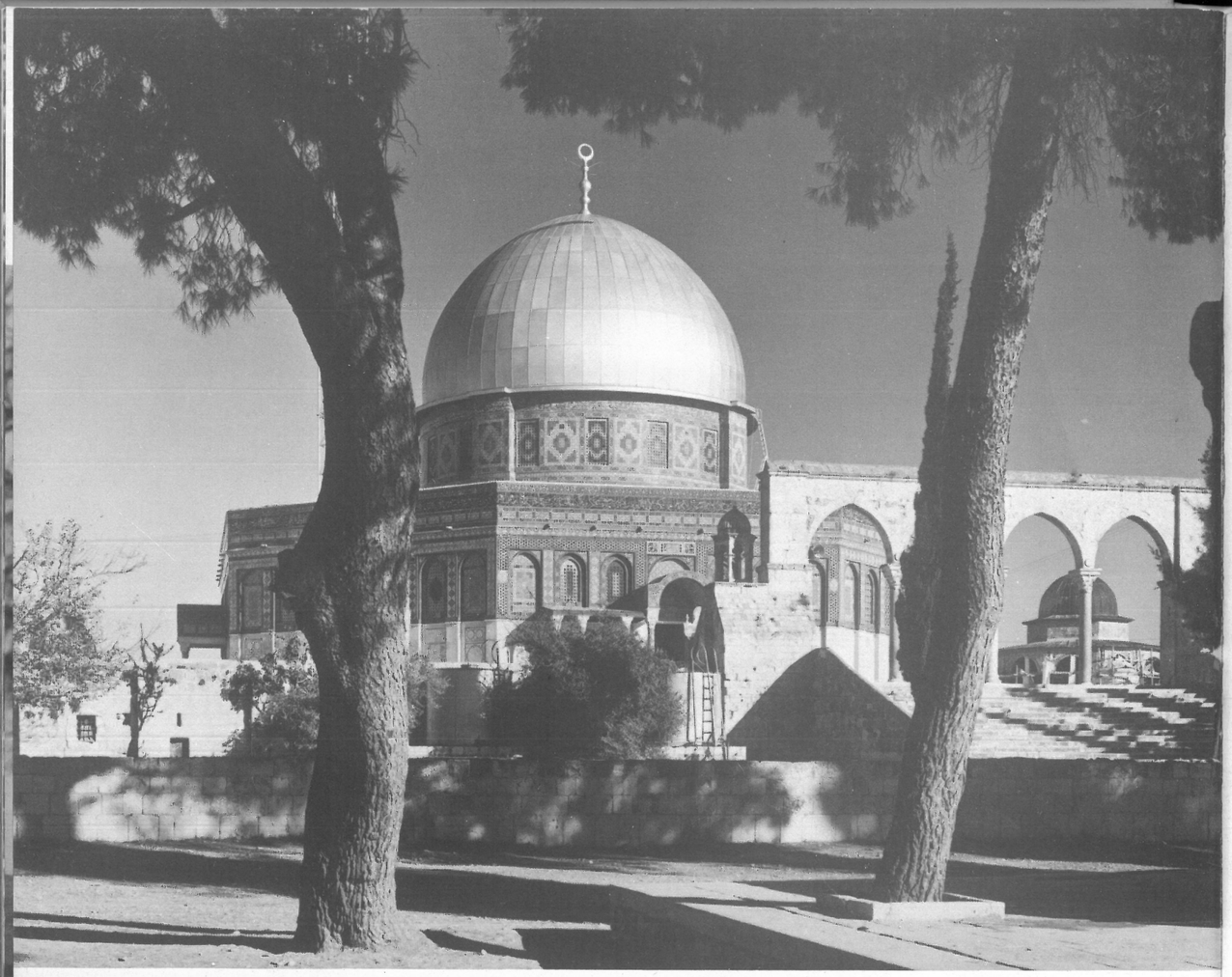
The traditional Easter Procession in
Jerusalem



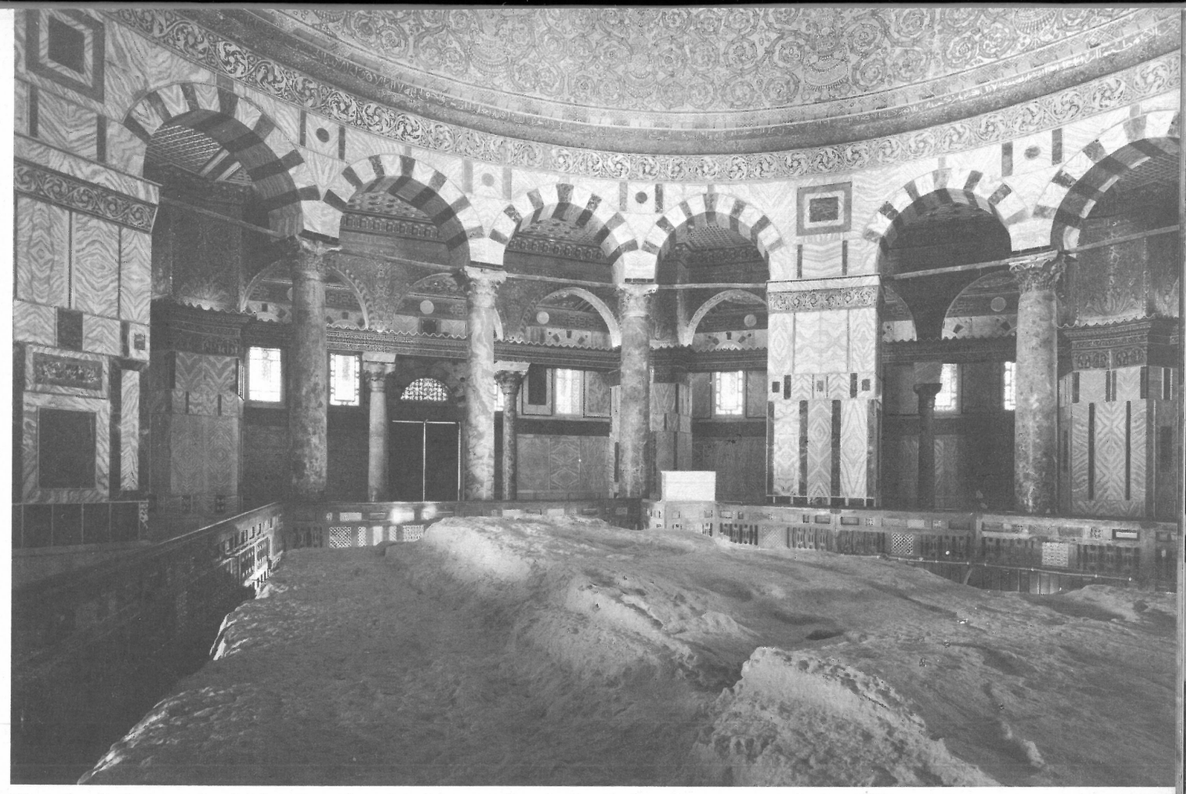
Jews praying at the Wailing Wall

Jerusalem: "The object of pilgrimage and the place of prayer where the Prophet ascended to Heaven and where men will be gathered on the day of resurrection." IBN KHALDUN





The recently restored 1966 Dome of the Rock, the sacred mosque in the Haram Esh Sharif



The Rock from which the Prophet Muhammad is believed to have ascended to Heaven

Seedna Ali, a Moslem shrine near Jaffa

"Let every Christian as much as in him lies, engage himself openly and publicly before the world in some mental pursuit for the building up of Jerusalem."

WILLIAM BLAKE
To the Christians

Greek Orthodox convent in Jerusalem

Washing of the Feet ceremony to commemorate Christ's final lesson to his disciples

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the foreground (1946)

An old date tree reputed to have been planted by Saint Saba. Its seedless fruit is said to cause fertility in women.

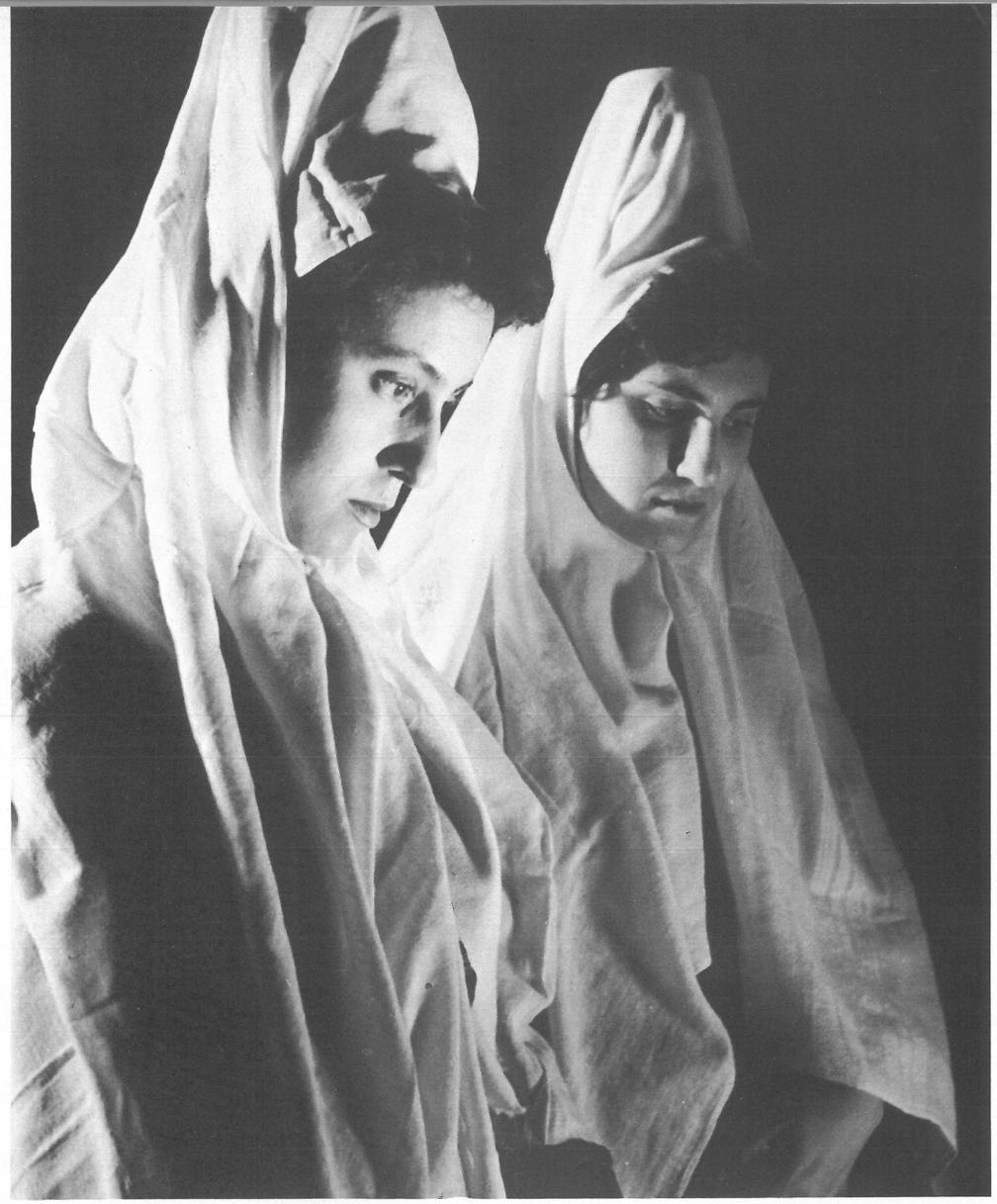
Arab girls walking in the Palm Sunday Procession. In the background the Garden of Gethsemane

The Way of the Cross in Jerusalem

The little town of Bethlehem...

Christian Arabs on an early Christmas morning gathered to watch the celebrations in Bethlehem

Steps leading to the Grotto of the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem



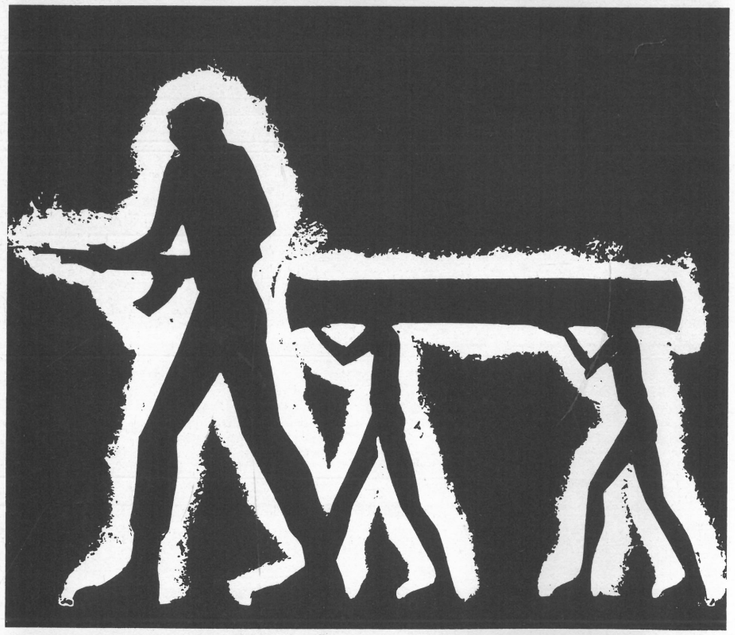
Christian Arab women of Bethlehem wearing the traditional headdress which dates back to the Crusades

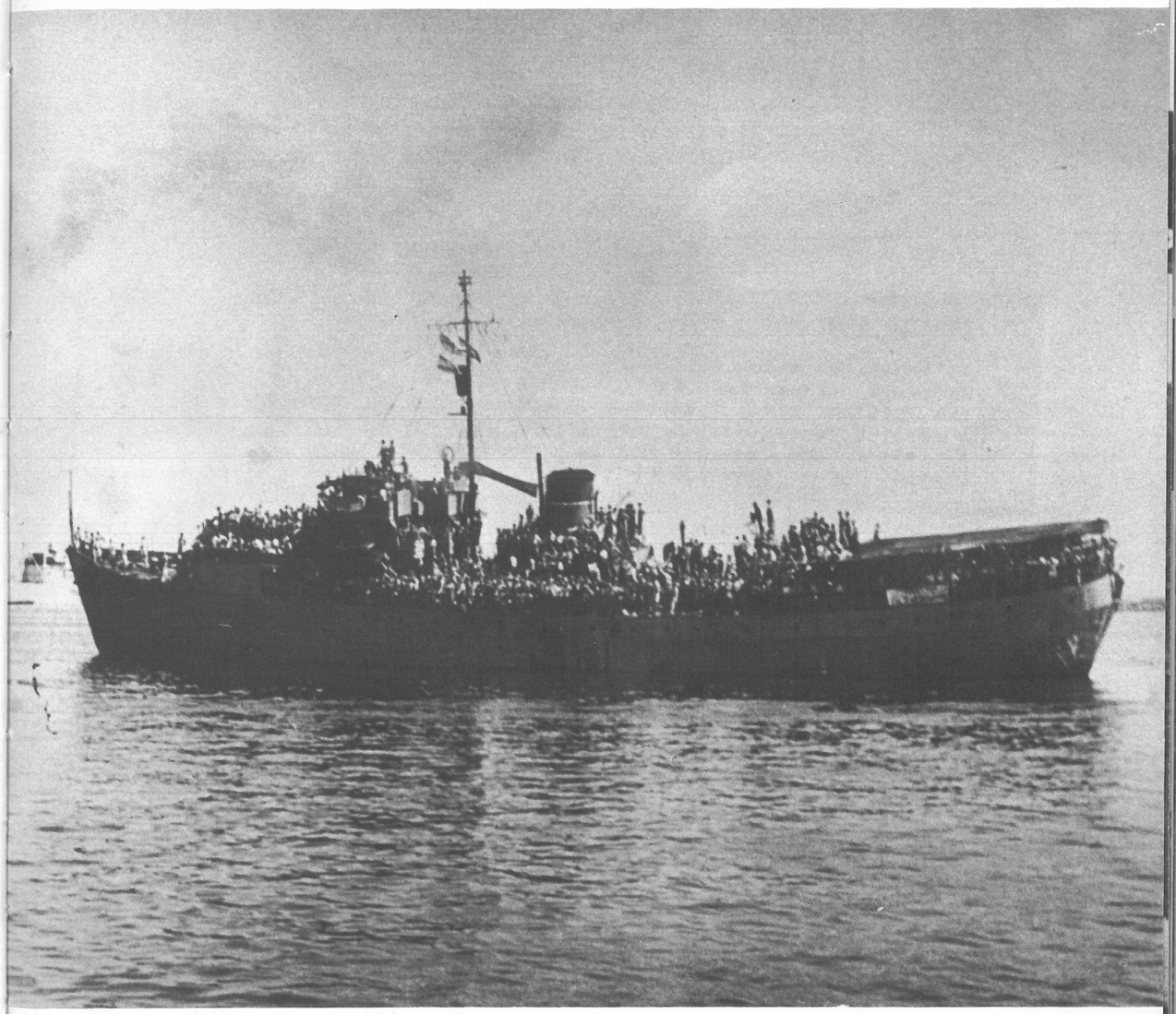
Mother-of-pearl Arab workers in Bethlehem : a craft handed down from father to son

THE INVASION OF PALESTINE

"Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe... The rest we shall manage for ourselves..."

THEODOR HERZL





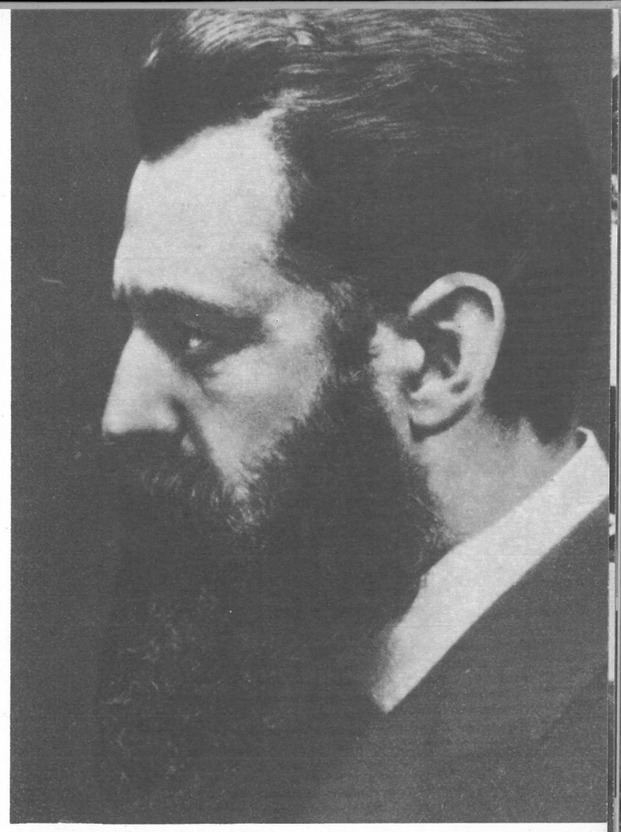
Jewish immigrants on their way to Palestine

At about the same time that the Arab people of Palestine begin their struggle to come to terms with the new 20th century world community as an independent nation, in Basle, Switzerland, Jewish immigration to Palestine becomes a political programme promoted by Zionism.

1917 : the Balfour Declaration is interpreted by the Zionists to mean acceptance of the principle of a Jewish State in Palestine.

"In the Balfour Declaration, one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third."

ARTHUR KOESTLER



Theodor Herzl

The Balfour Declaration

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country"

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

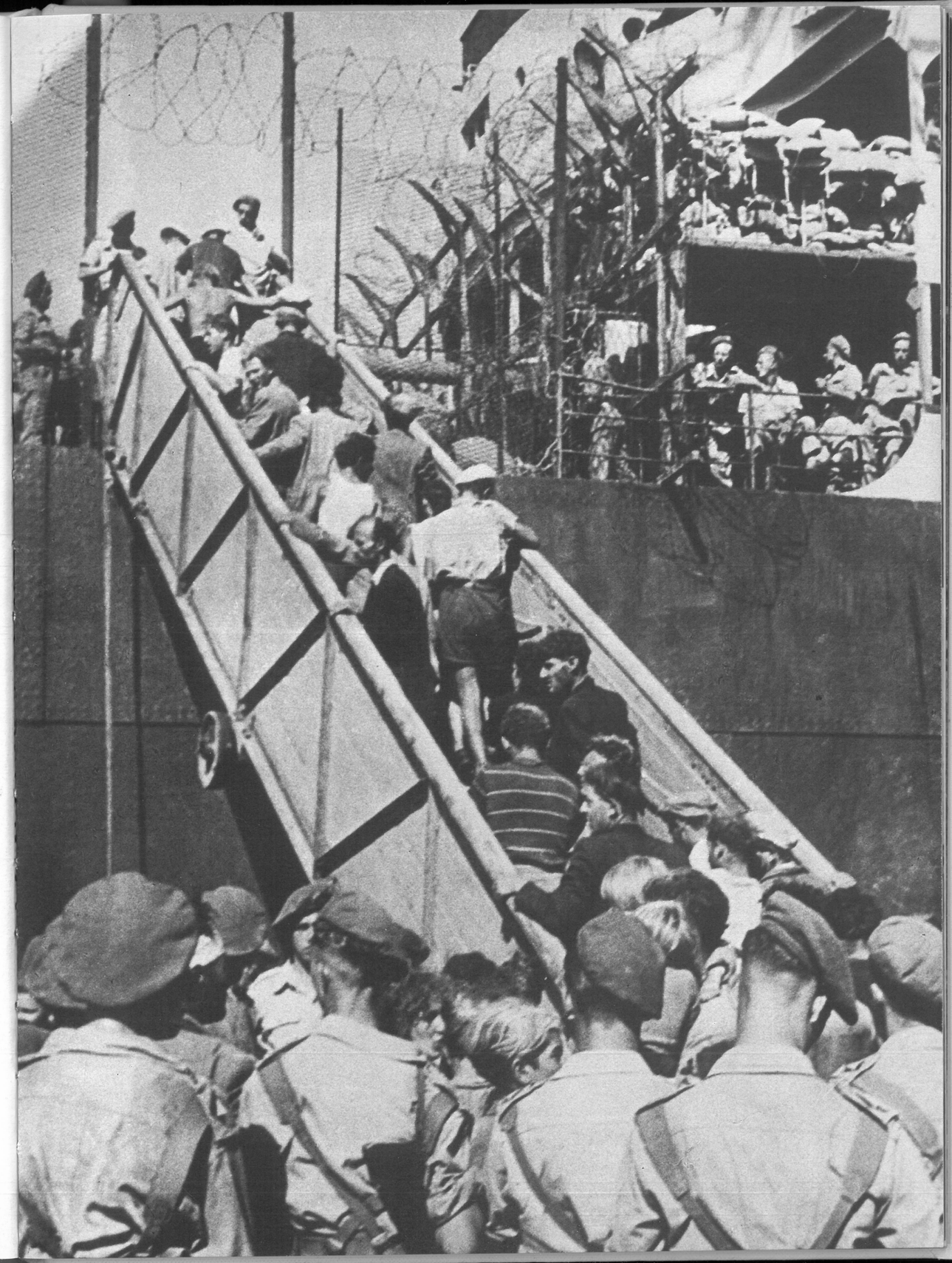
Yours sincerely,
Arthur James Balfour

1923 : Great Britain is granted a mandate over Palestine and enjoined to encourage Jewish immigration to it.

British soldiers in Jerusalem

"The Jewish people will only get Palestine when British imperialism fails : our principle is the destruction of British imperialism."

J. EBERLIN (1920)
Zionist



The Moslem and Christian Arabs, who constituted 92% of the population in 1920 resist the policy of unlimited Jewish immigration.

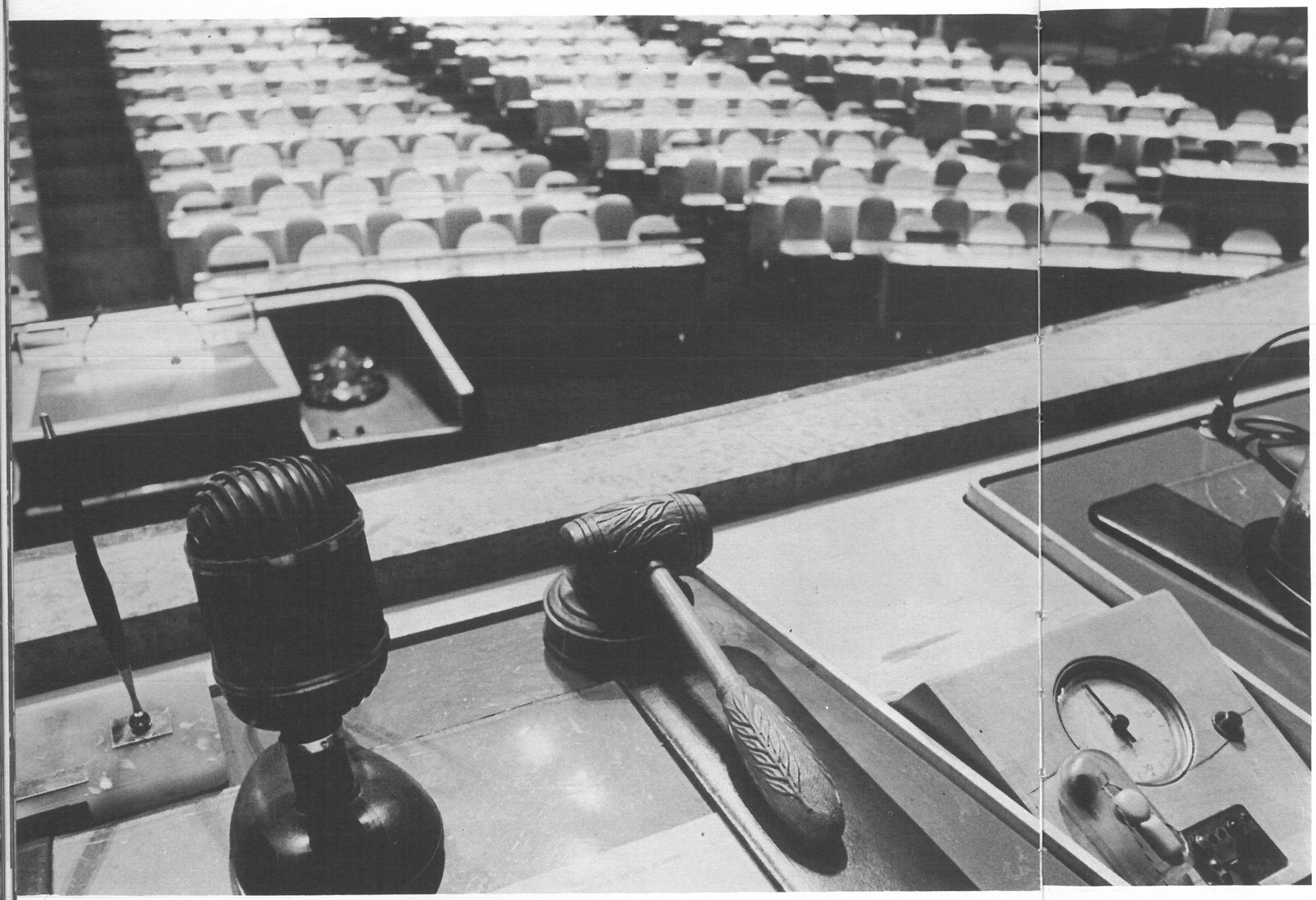
General Strike in Jaffa Street in Jerusalem (1936)

Arab resistance fighters (1936)

British Royal (Peel) Commission of 1937 established that Arab opposition to a Jewish State was unshakable

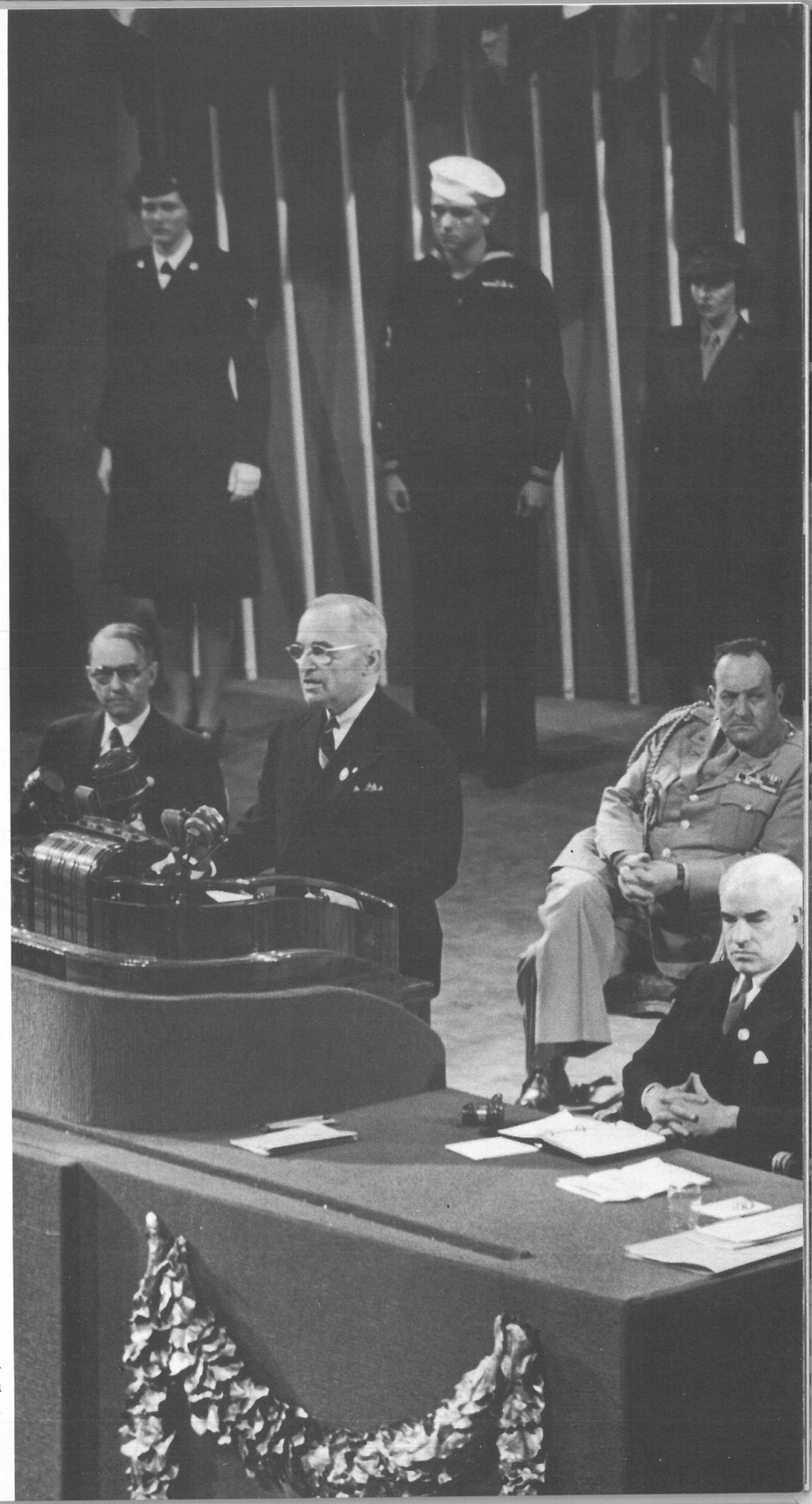
Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry (1946)

Lake Success, N. Y.: the fate of Palestine is decided. The United Nations adopts the resolution for the partition of Palestine.



"It totally lacks legal validity."

ZUFRALLAH KHAN (MAY 1948)
Pakistan Representative to U. N.



President Truman who eleven minutes after the Partition Resolution recognized Israel

"There can be only one national home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs."

DR. EDER (1921)
Member of Zionist Commission

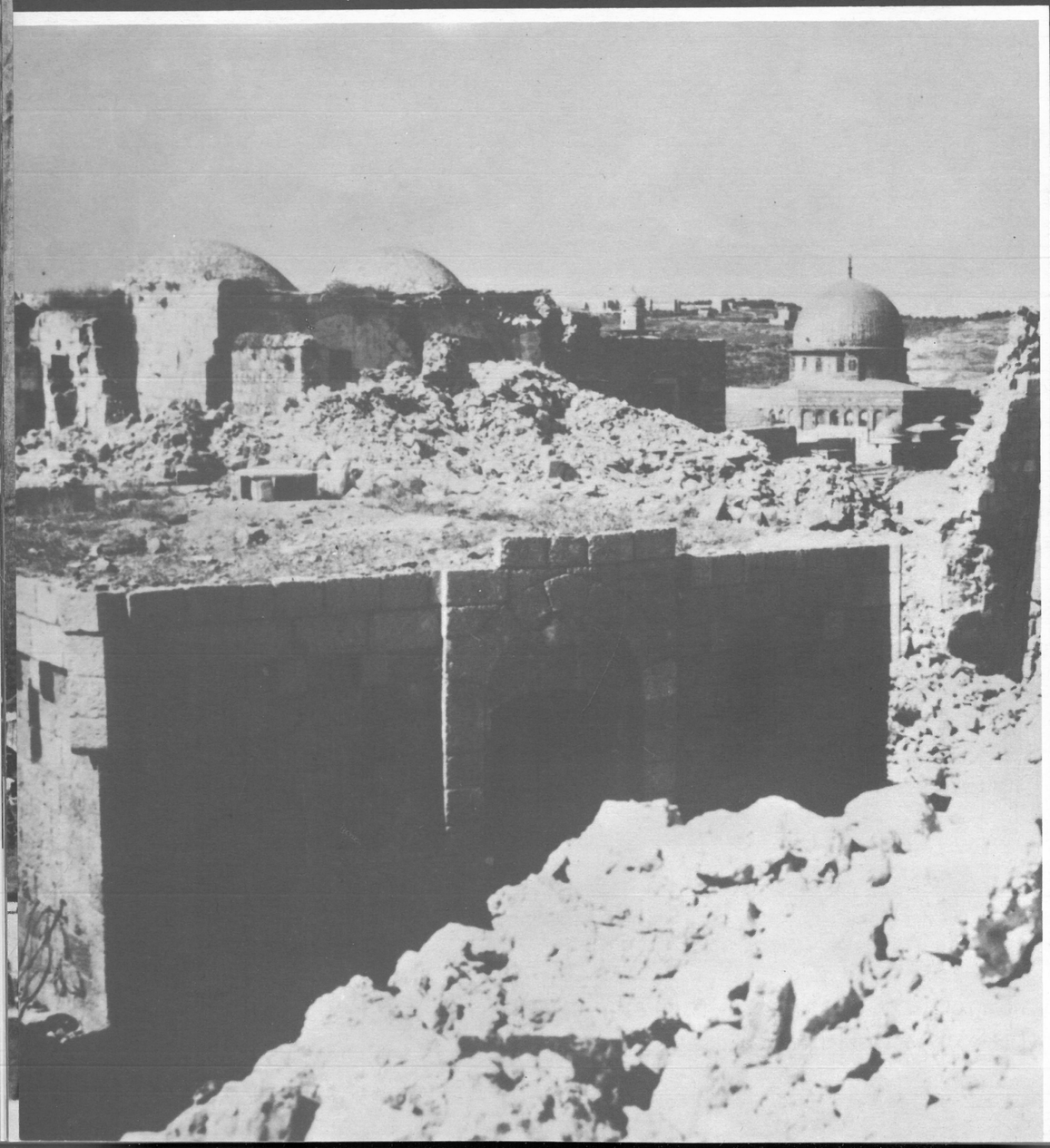
A Jerusalem street in 1947

Zionist terrorists (1948)

The blowing up of the British Headquarters at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem (1946) by Zionist terrorists

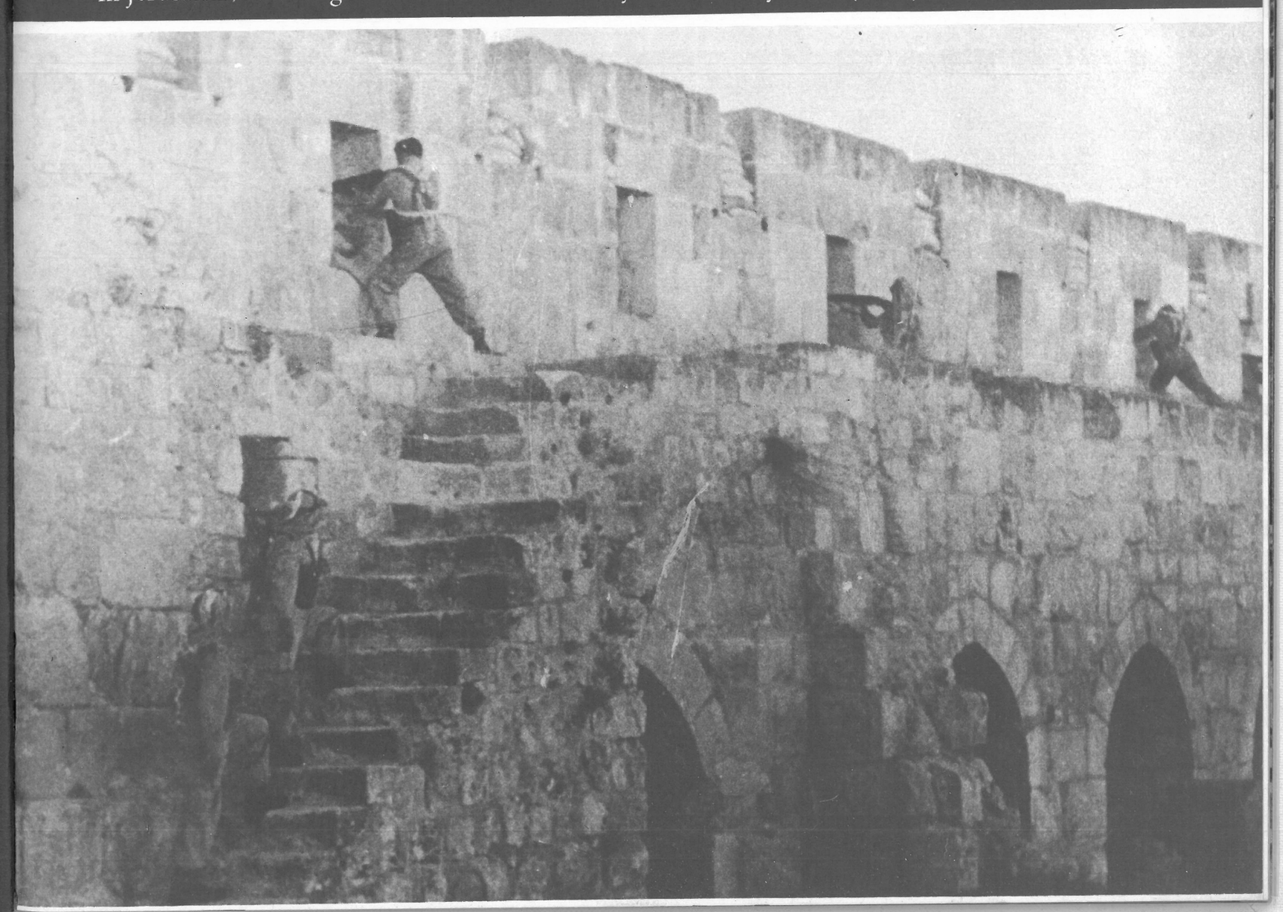
1948 : War, occupation and exodus.
"All that we have taken we shall hold."
DAVID BEN GURION (June 1948)

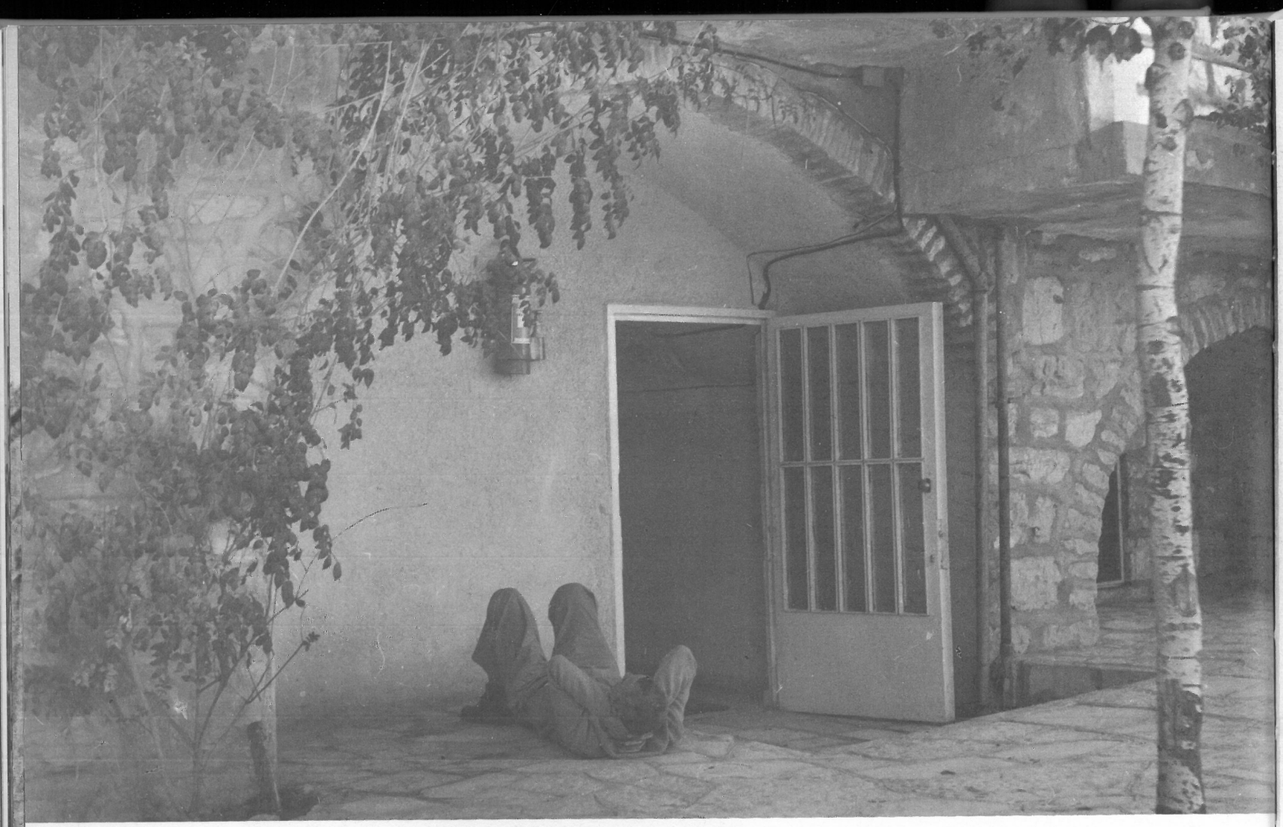
A scene of destruction in Jerusalem (1948)

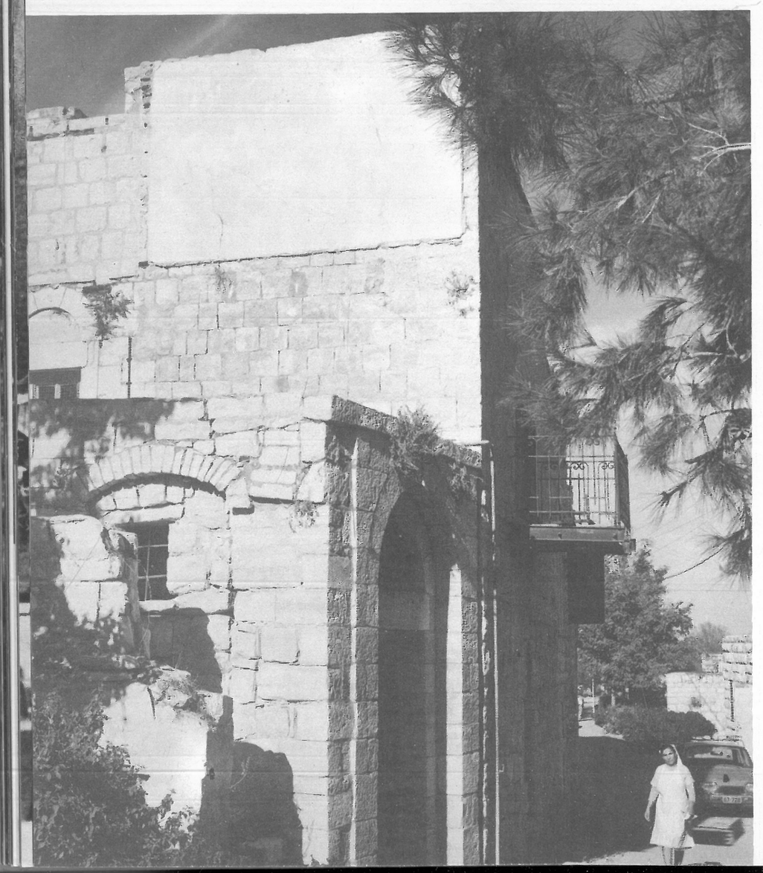


Arab defenders near the Jewish settlement of Kefar Etzion (1948)

In Jerusalem, Arab Legioners defend the Old City from the city walls (1948)





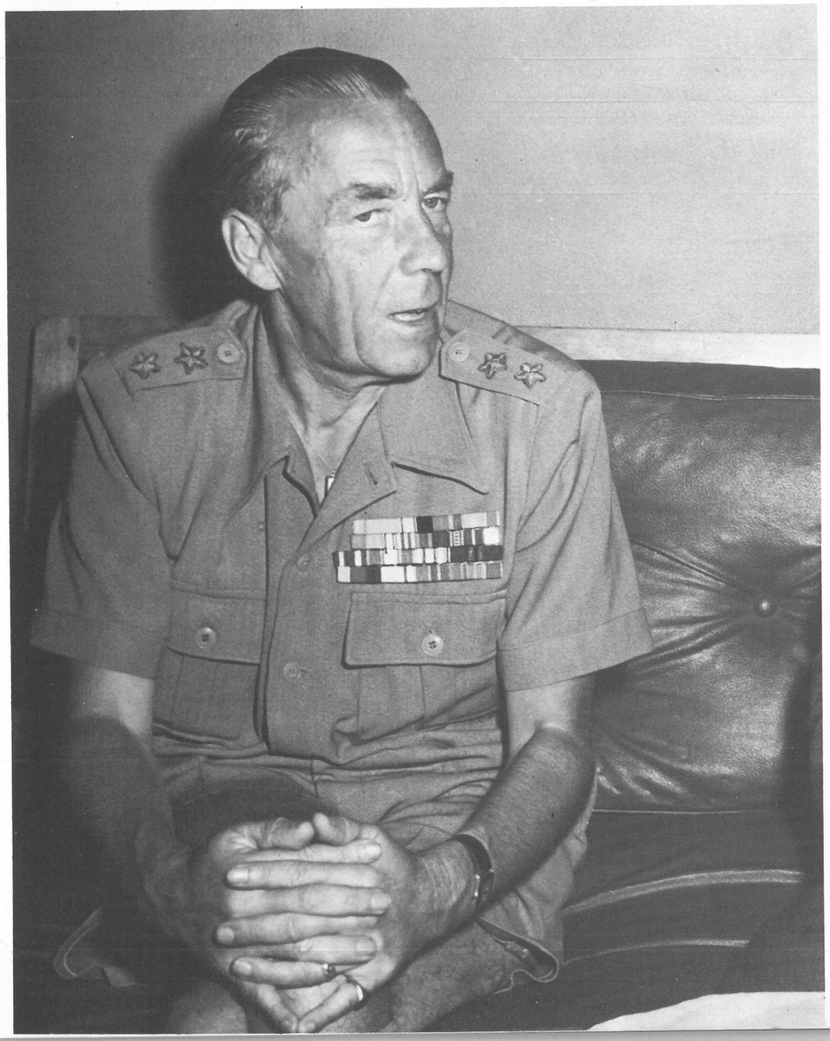


Today an insane asylum, this was Deir Yasin where in April 1948, 250 men, women and children were massacred by Zionist terrorists.

"It would be an offence against the principle of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right of return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries."

COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE (1948)
U. N Mediator

Count Folke Bernadotte in the Security Council meeting, 13 July 1948. He was assassinated by the Israelis on 17 September 1948



Cease-fire meeting in Jerusalem (1948)

"If Britain used Zionism for its colonial interests, she certainly was used by the Zionists for their own ends. The fruits that Britain reaped from this part were transient; the fruits that Zionism gathered were permanent."

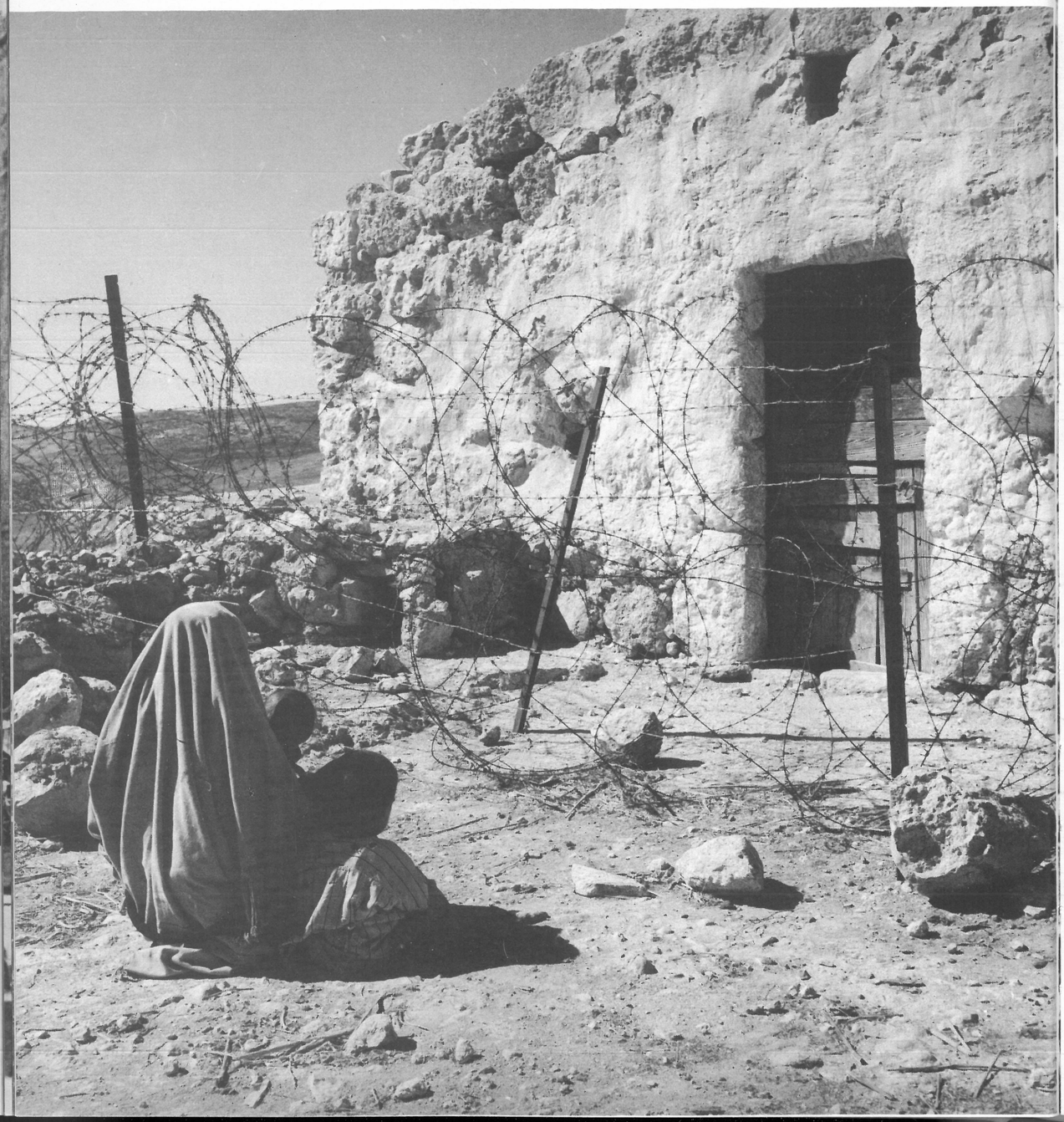
URI AVNERY
Member of the Knesset

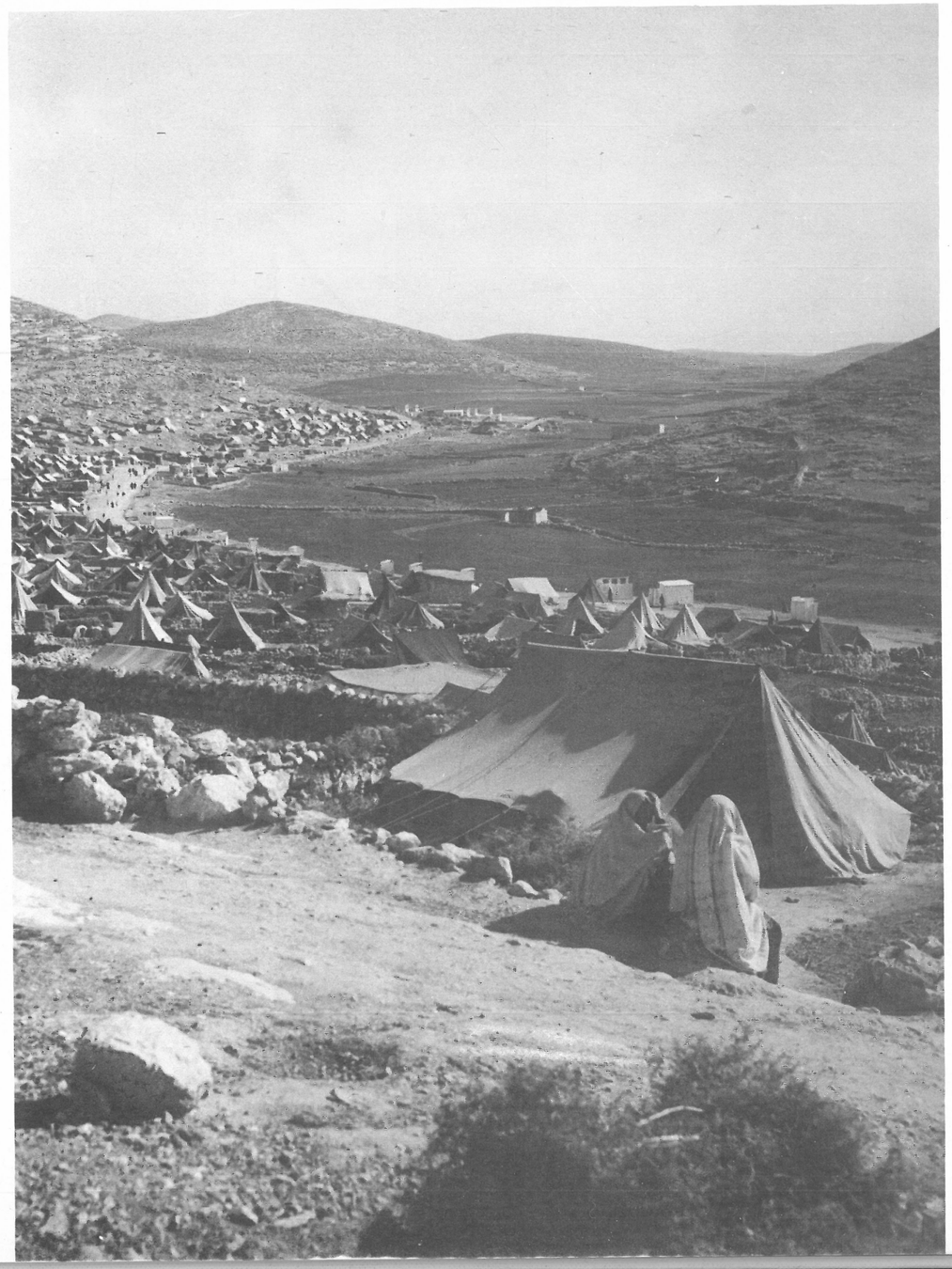
Defining the Armistice Line (1949)

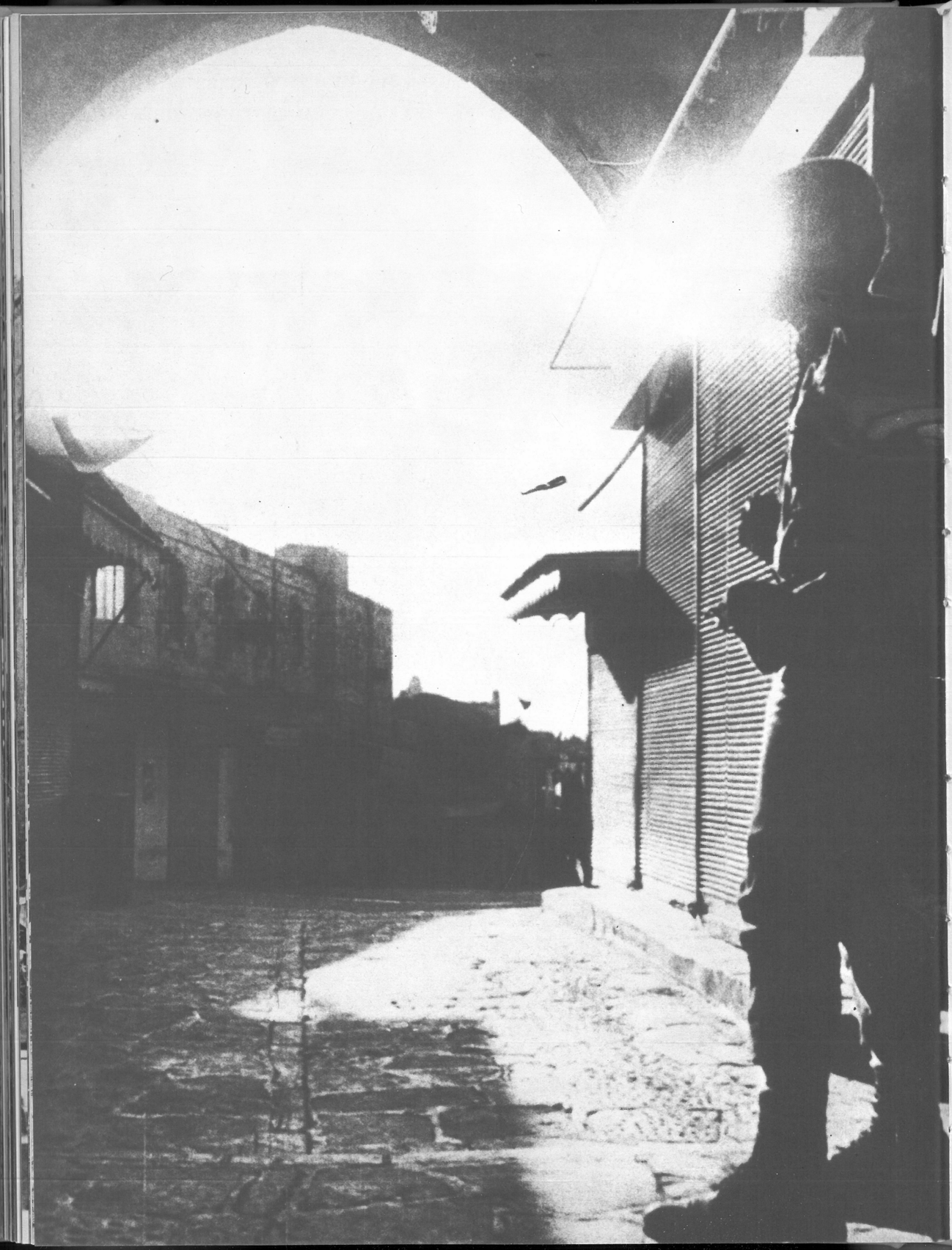
Arab-Israeli Armistice Demarcation Committee in Jerusalem (1949)

"And the earth was without form, and void;
And darkness was upon the face of the deep."

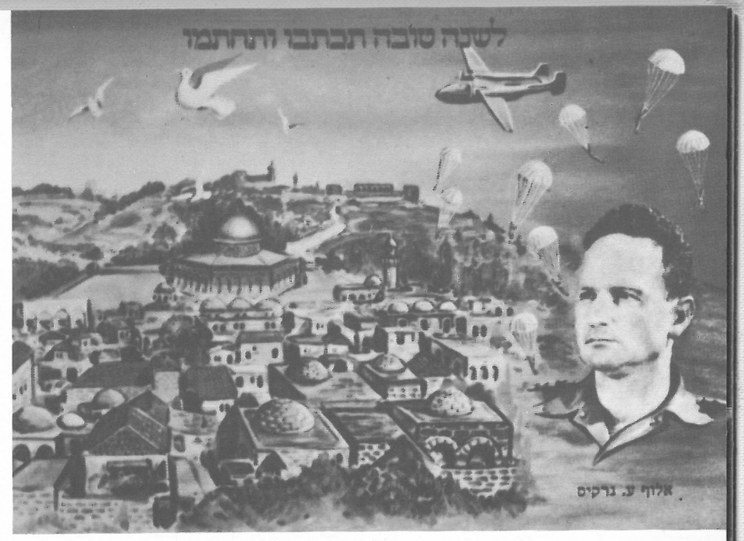
GENESIS 1:2







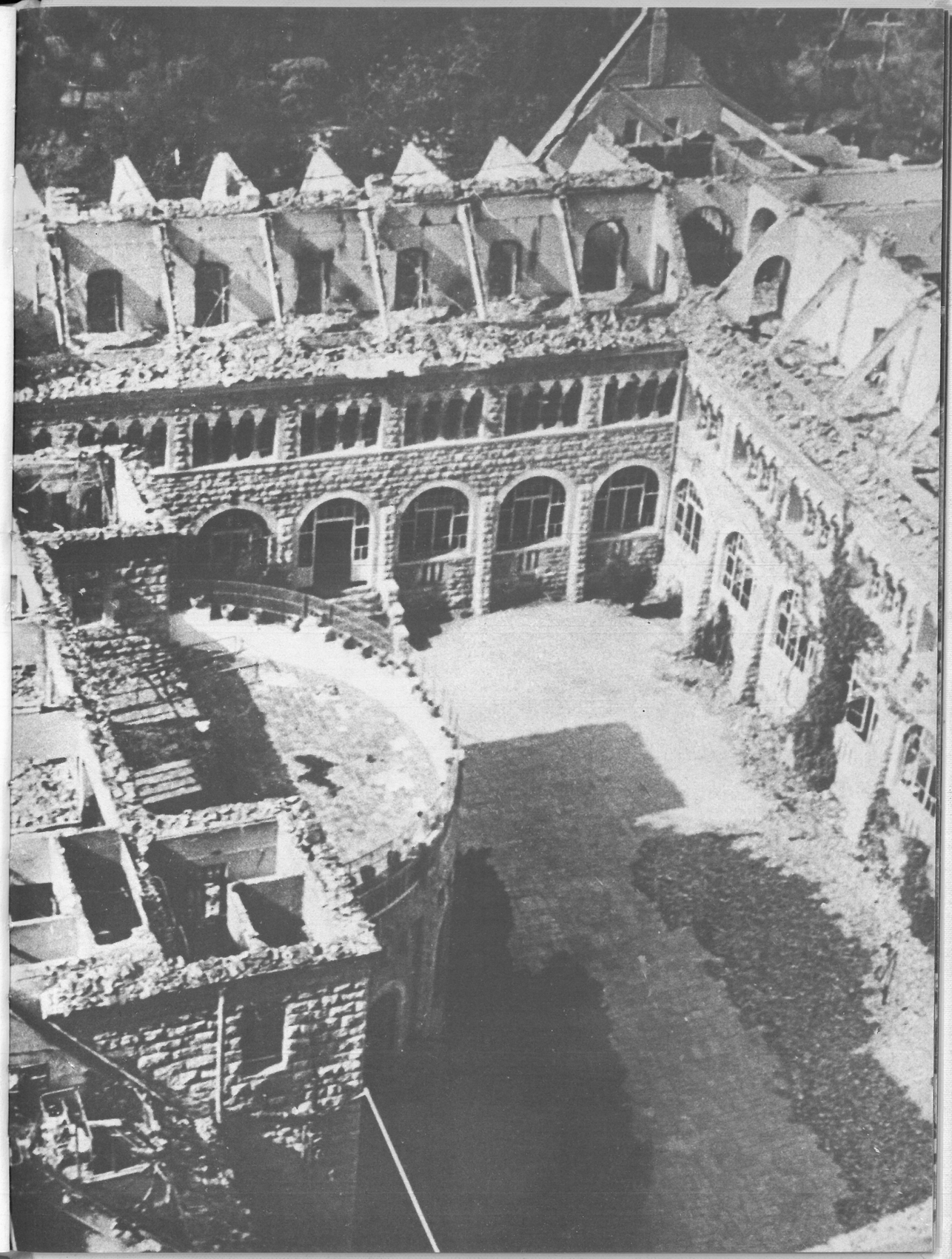
1967: ...and once again war, occupation and exodus.



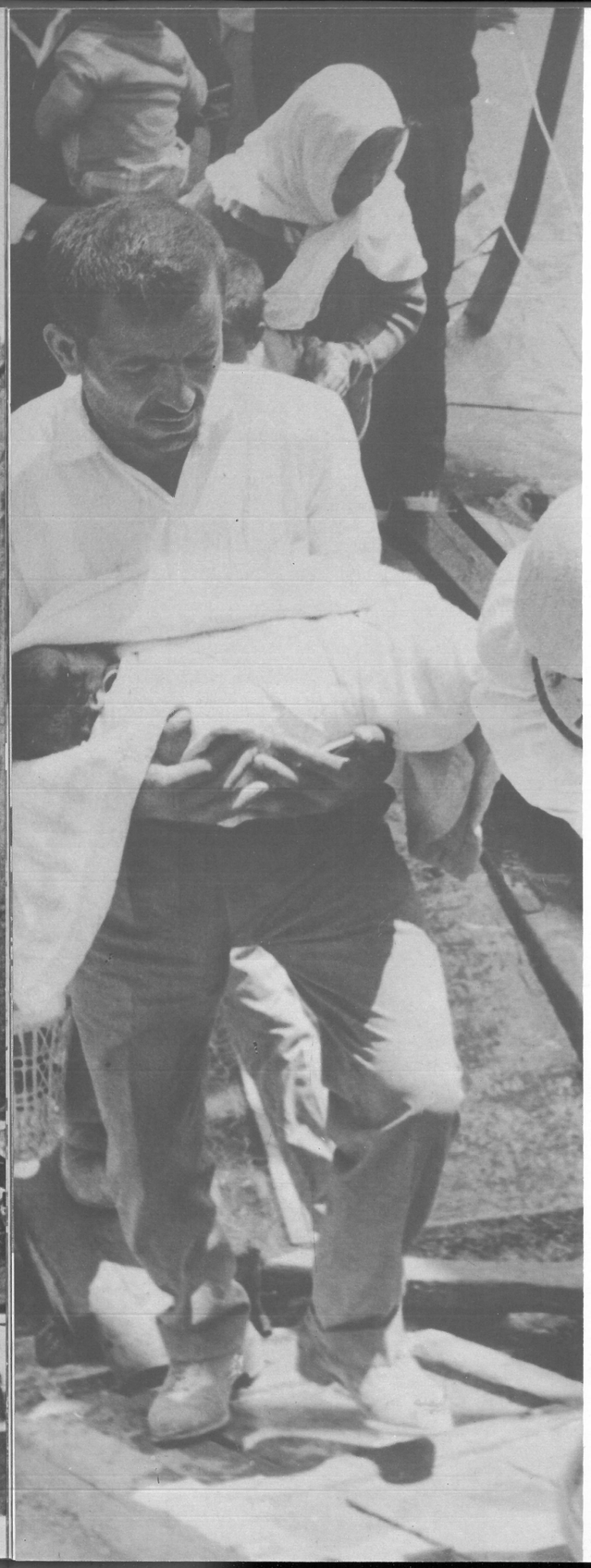
Israel's Happy New Year cards

The Israeli army once again on the move ...

"We lived with the plan, we slept on the plan,
we ate the plan. Constantly we perfected it.
ISRAELI GENERAL HOD

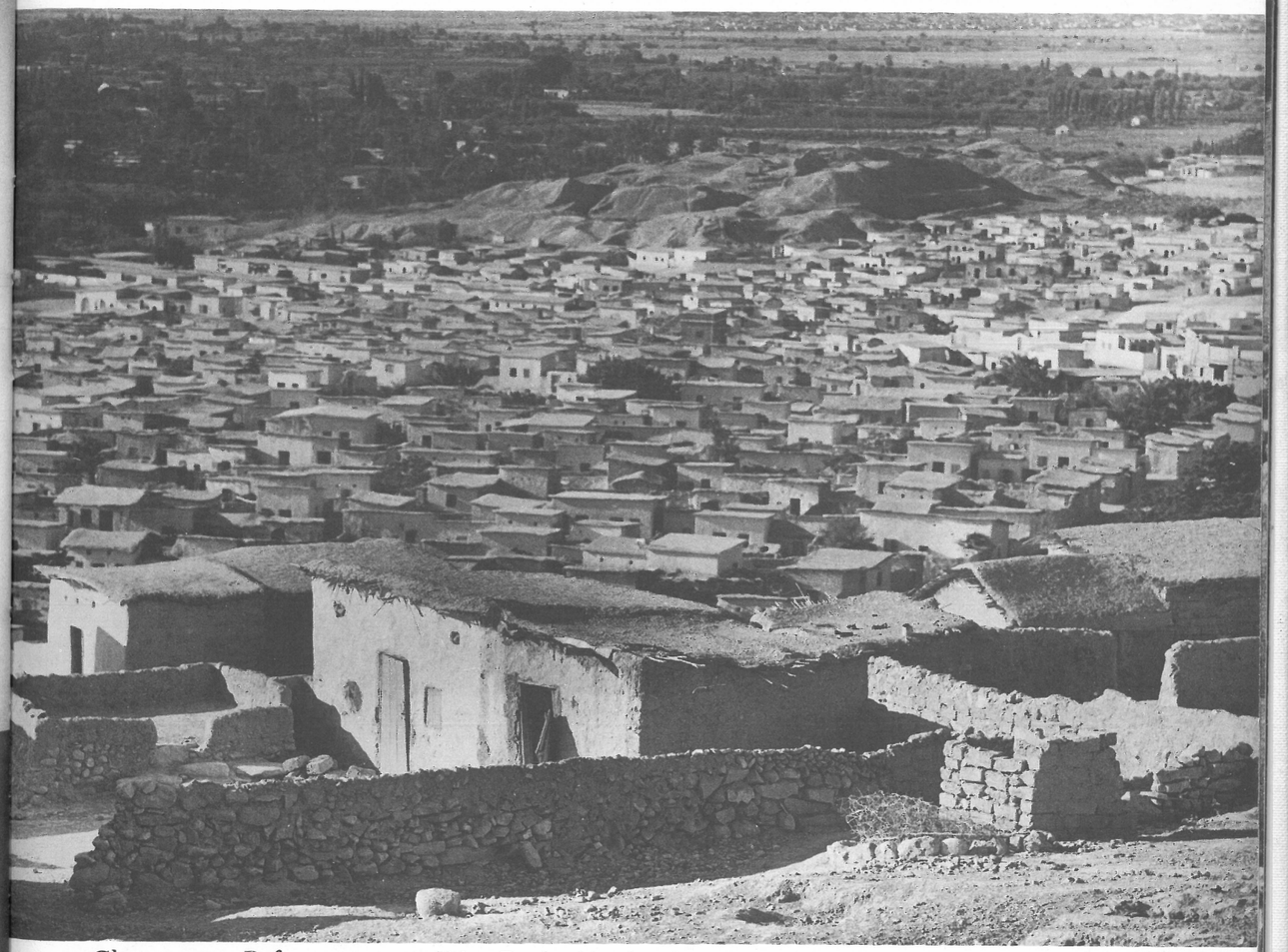


The Augusta Victoria Hospital in Jerusalem after
shelling by the Israelis (1967)



The damaged bridge on the River Jordan was their only means of escape.

And then there were none.

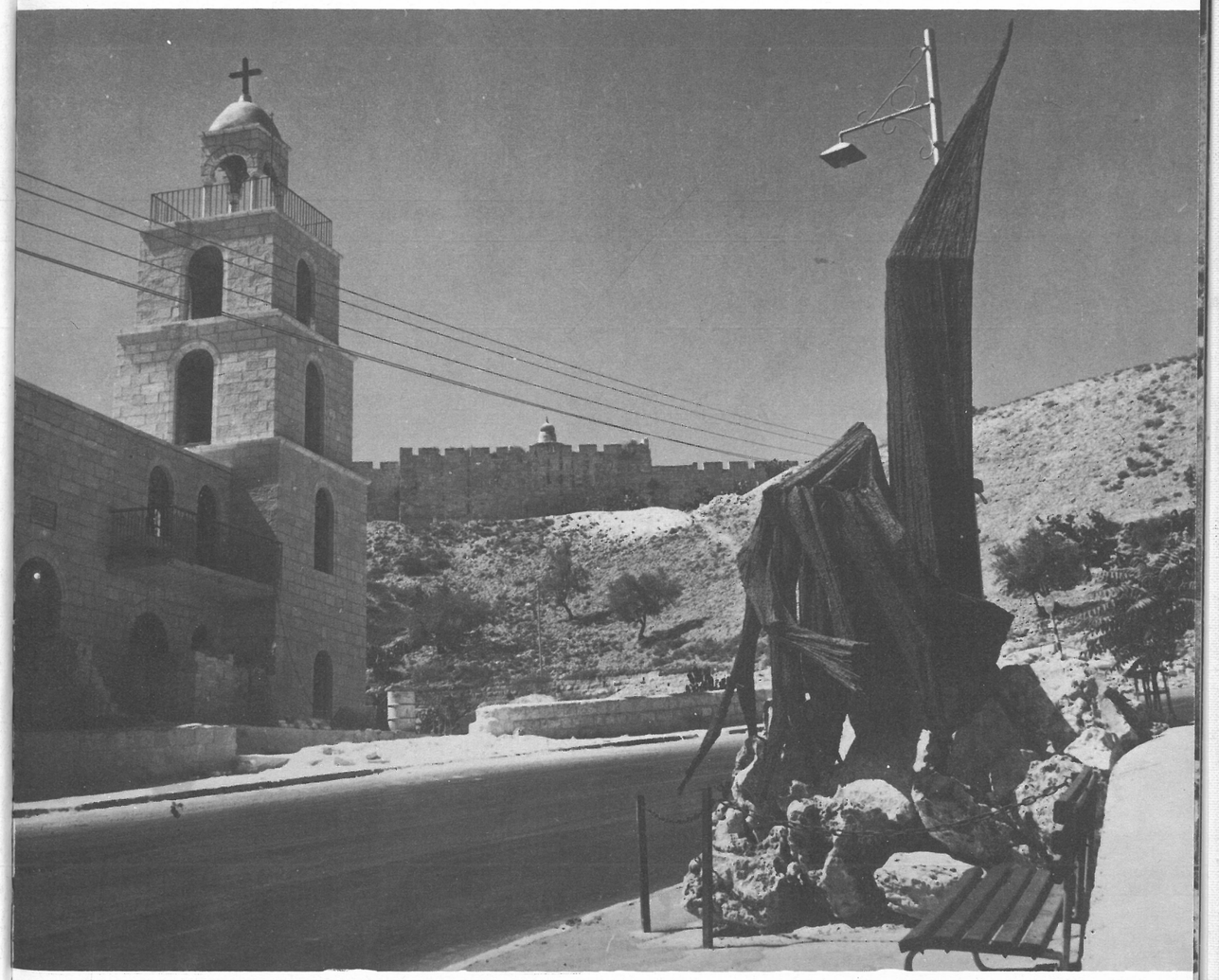


Ghost town : Refugee camp on West Bank of Jordan

As a result of the June 5th war in 1967, the territory under Israeli occupation is now about four times that assigned to the Jewish State under the U.N. Partition Resolution of 1947.

Israeli soldiers in front of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem after the June war

Israeli official sources at all levels have since declared their determination not to give up several parts of the territory occupied. Their attitude towards Jerusalem is emphatic. Its occupation is irrevocable.



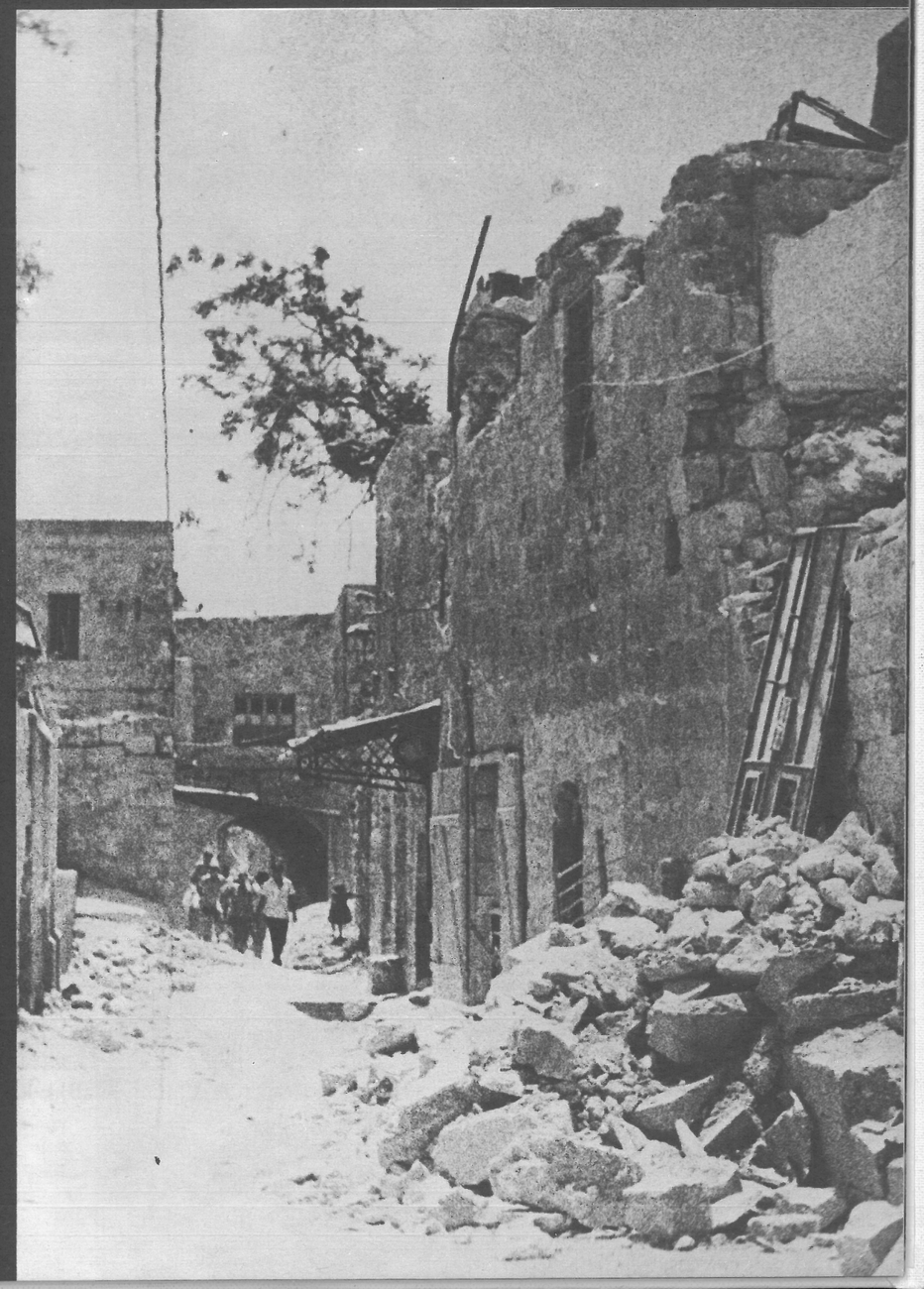
Newly constructed Israeli war monument infront of the Virgin Mary's Tomb in Jerusalem

JERUSALEM (1967) – *"No light but darkness visible."*

JOHN MILTON
Paradise Lost

"A new political reality in the Mid-East has been created."

LEVI ESHKOL

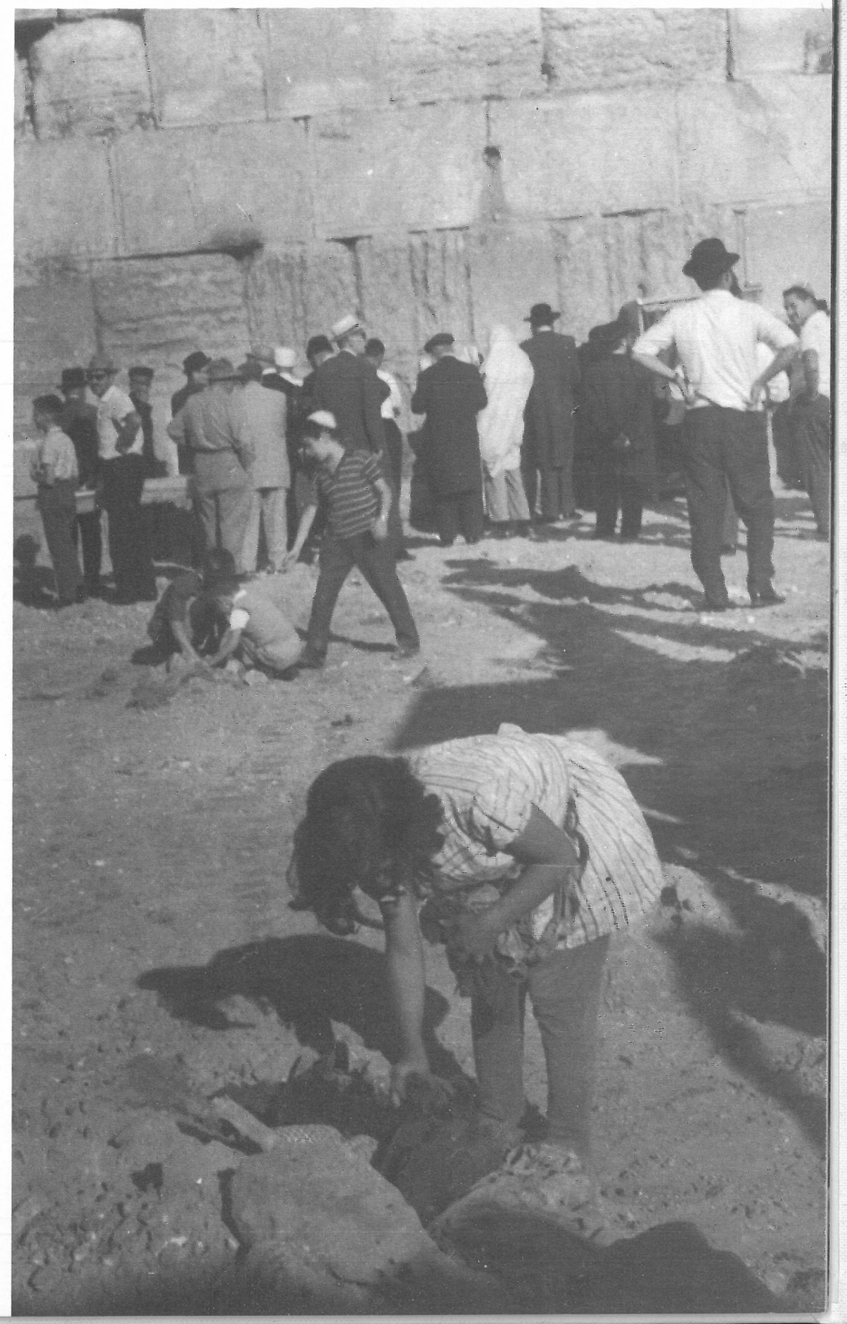


"Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations, is prohibited except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations."

ART. 53, FOURTH GENEVA CONVENTION

The Israeli flag flies in the area adjacent to Al-Buraq (the Wailing Wall) while it is being cleared of the homes of 1000 Arabs to serve as a parking lot

There is no parking lot there

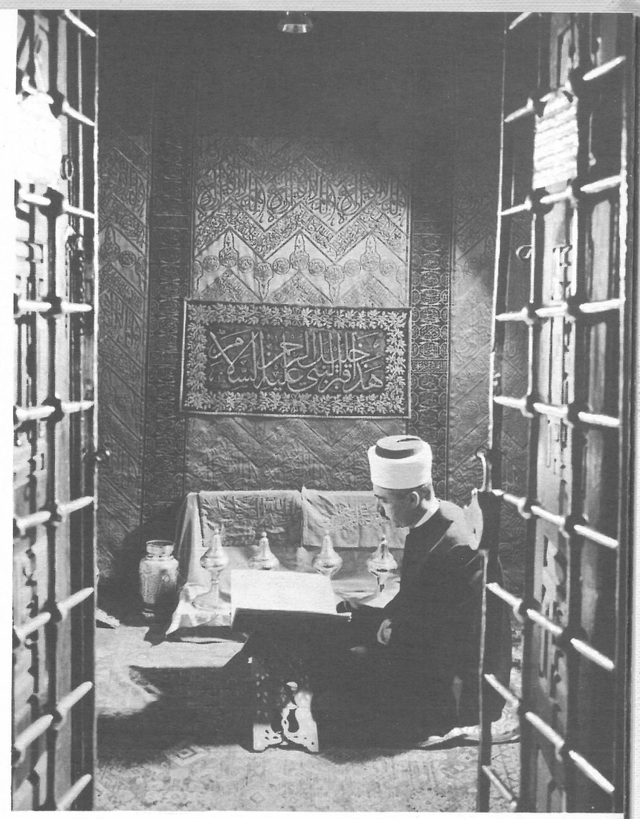


An Arab girl rummaging in the ruins of what was once her home. In the background Jews praying at the Wailing Wall.

Hebron is on no account to be given back to the Arabs. "This is a political program but more important, it is a fulfilment of a people's ancestral dream."

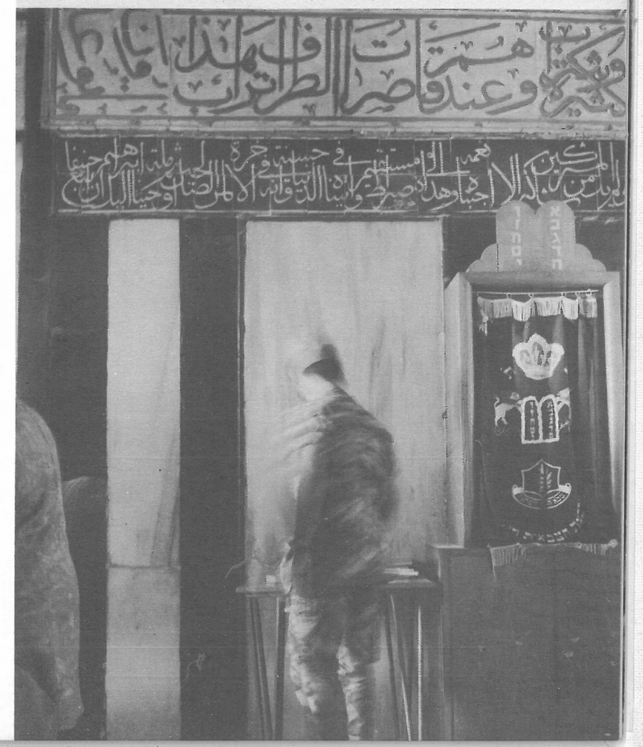
MOSHE DAYAN

Hebron 1968



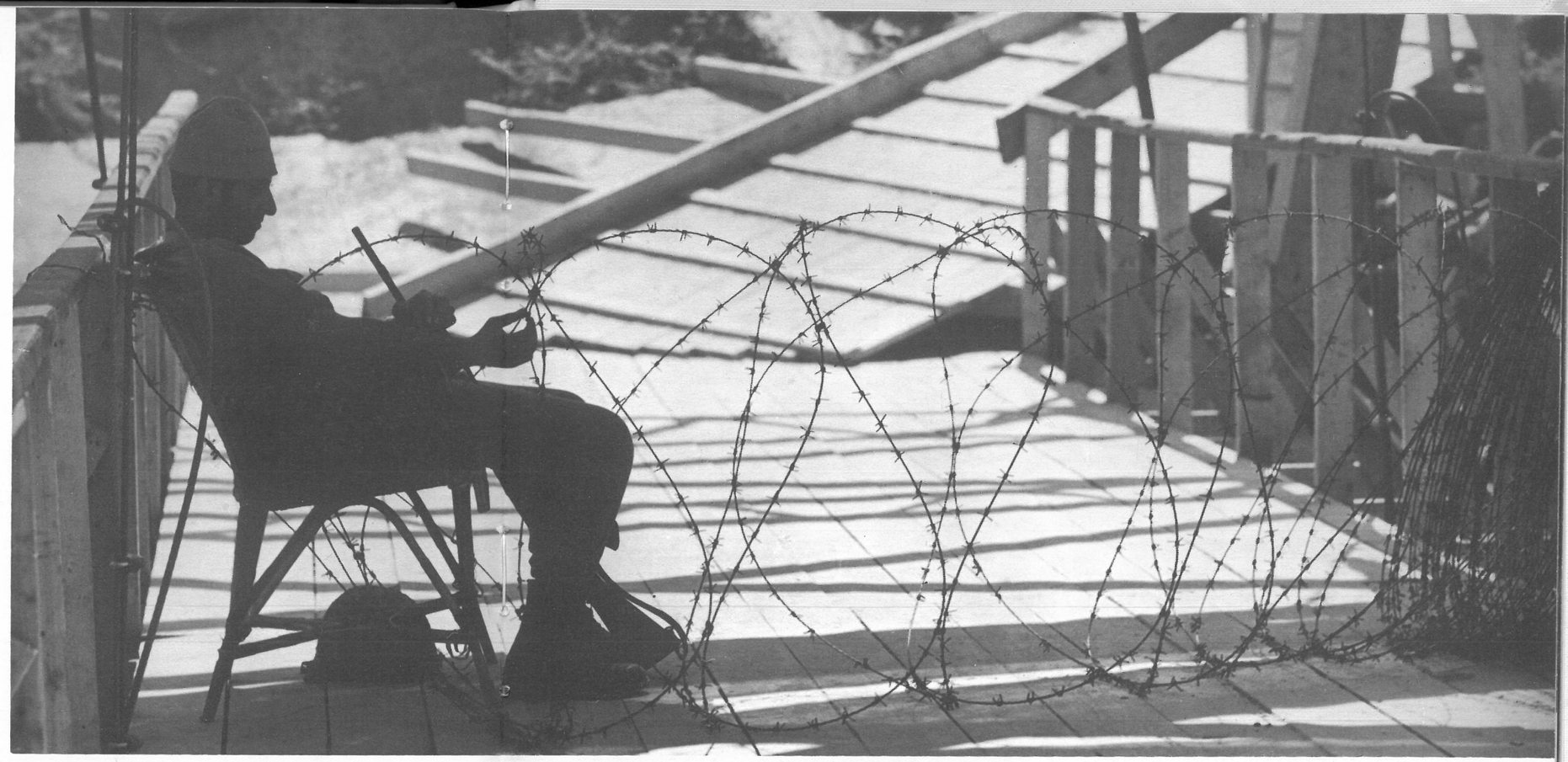
A Sheikh of the Mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron (1965)

1968 : Israeli soldier beside a newly erected
Jewish altar in the Mosque of Ibrahim in Hebron



"This is not the end; for after the present cease-fire lines, there will be new lines, but they will extend beyond the River Jordan, maybe to Lebanon and perhaps to Central Syria as well."

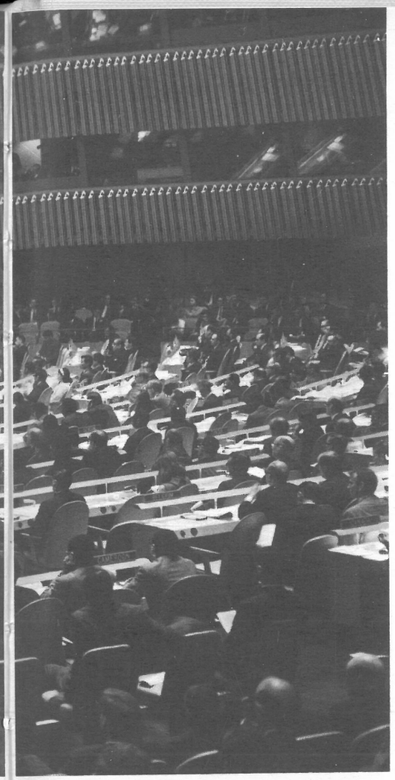
MOSHE DAYAN (July 1968)



An Israeli soldier on guard duty on the bridge across the River Jordan

Israeli soldiers on guard duty
on the Suez Canal

Israeli soldiers parading the streets
in Gaza (1967)



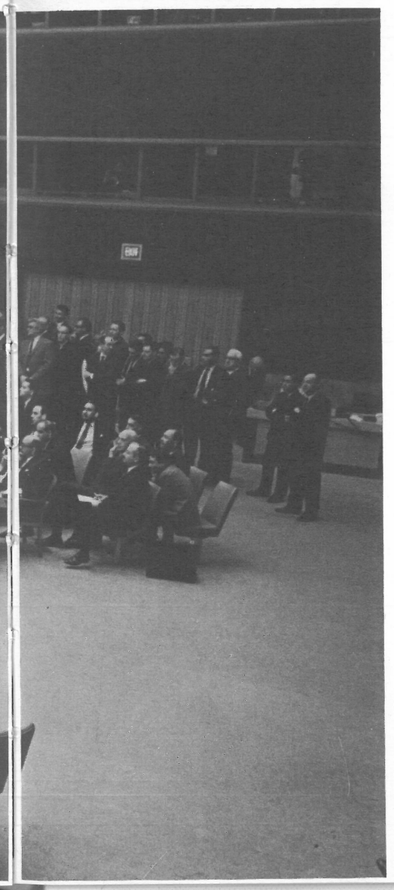
U. N. General Assembly calls upon Israel "...to rescind all measures taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem."

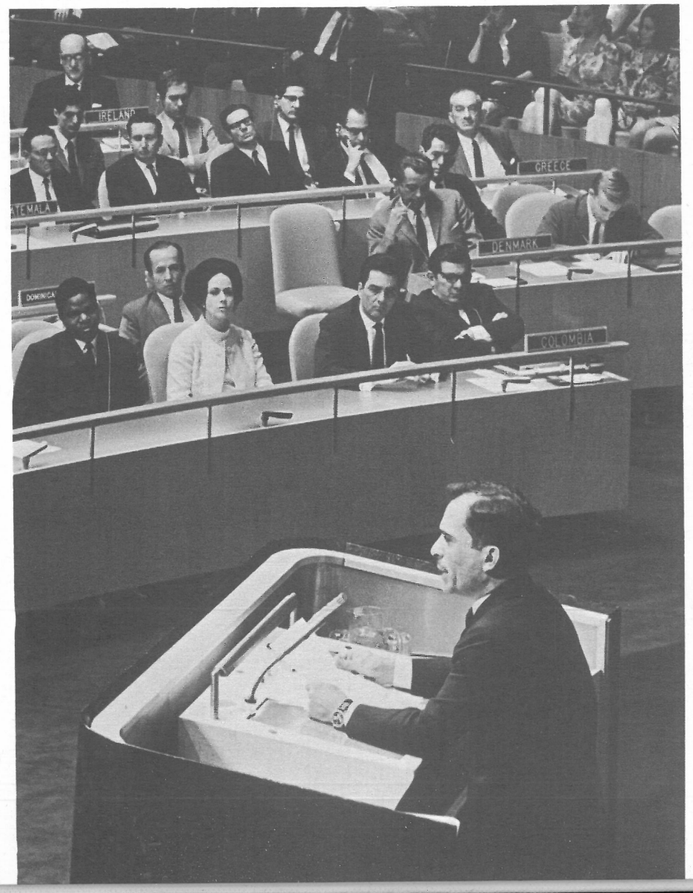
RESOLUTION 2253
July 1967

U. N. Security Council calls for the "...withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied..."

RESOLUTION 242
22 November, 1967

King Hussein addressing the General Assembly :"What Jordan and the Arabs want is peace with justice." (June 1967)





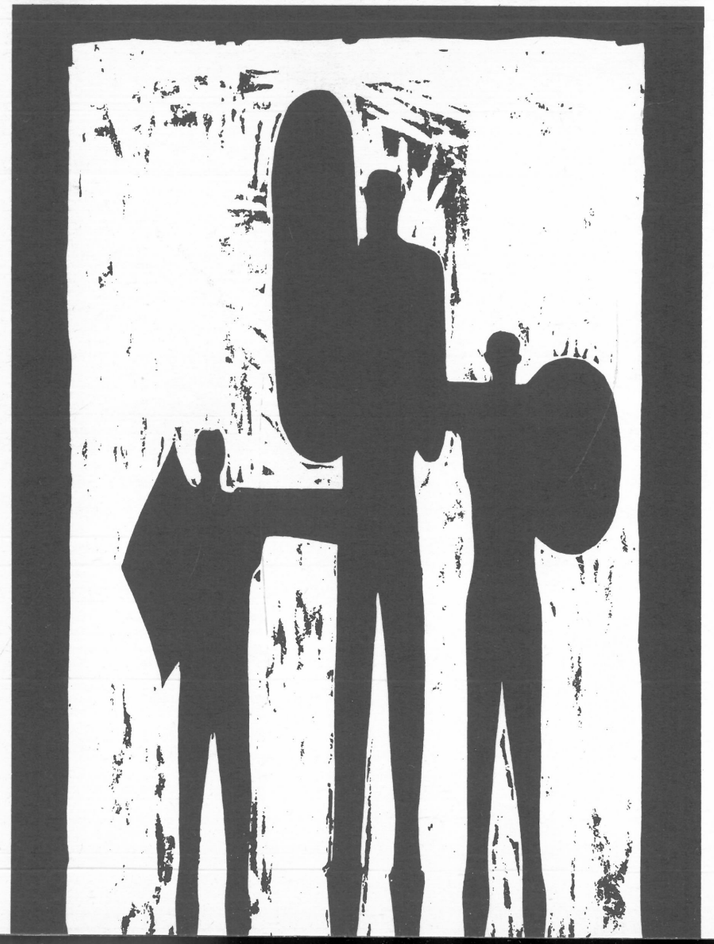
The United Nations remains on the scene. Its principal resolution on boundaries, return of the Arab refugees, Jerusalem, property... remain unimplemented.

U Thant addressing the Security Council : "There should be no territorial gains by military conquest..."

THE STRUGGLE GOES ON

"In our native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we enjoyed till the late violation of it... for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors and not before."

AMERICAN DECLARATION ON THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF TAKING UP ARMS (1775)



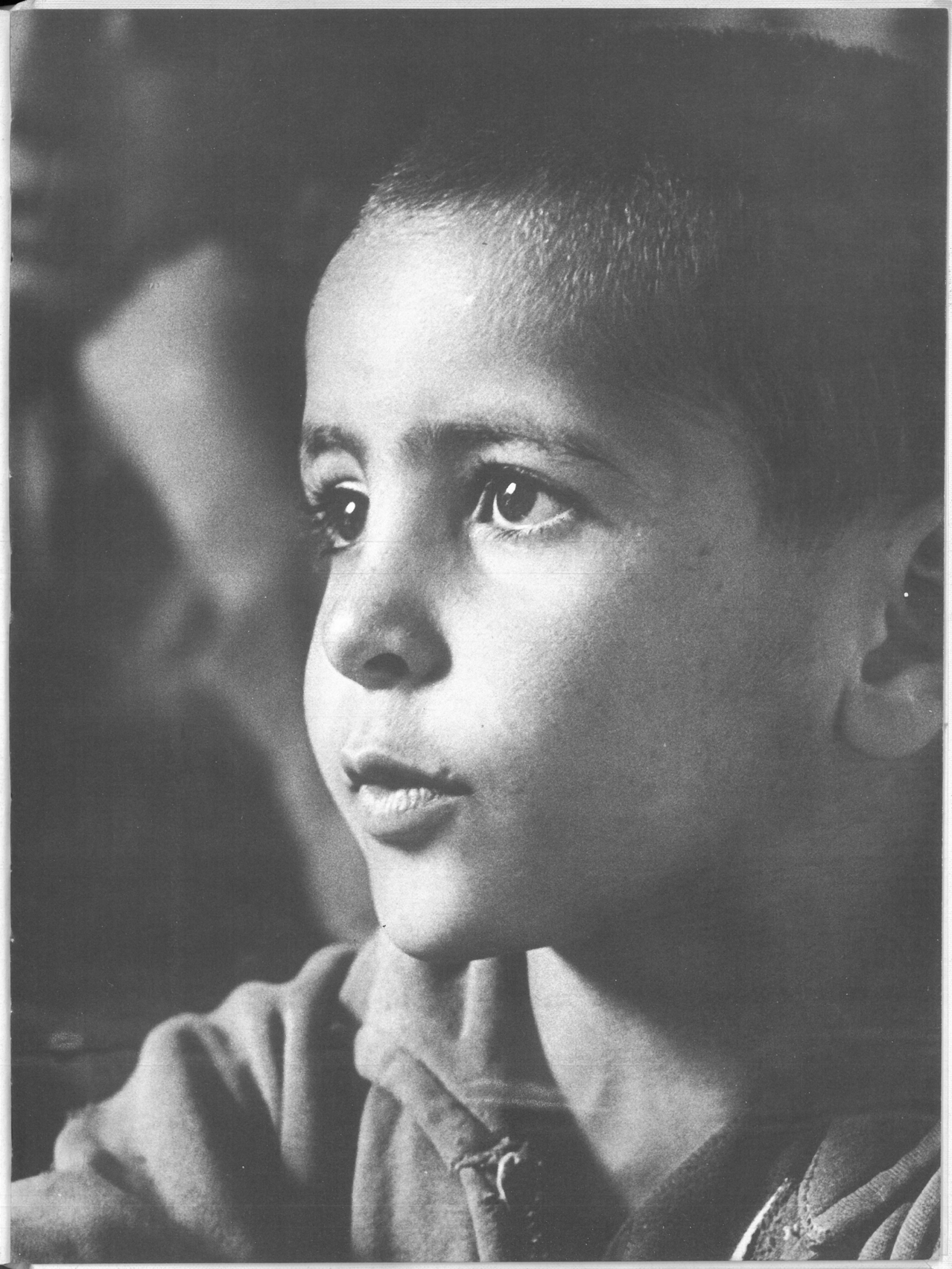
"There is something proudly thrilling in the thought that this obedience to conscience and trust in God, which is so solemnly preached in extremities and arduous circumstances, is only to retreat to one's self and rely on one's strength."

HENRY D. THOREAU

"We have nothing to lose but our tents."

ABU AMMAR

"The child is father of the Man."
WORDSWORTH



"What we have done is to make the world and the Palestinian himself realize that he is no longer just U.N. refugee number so-and-so, but a member of a people who hold the reins of their own destiny and are in a position to decide their future."

ABU AMMAR

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